

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY





# JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

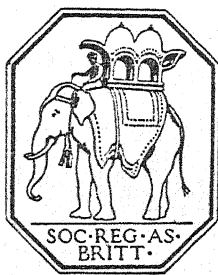
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## Masterpieces of Oriental Art. 4

By DORA GORDINE (THE HON. MRS. RICHARD HARE)

(PLATES I AND II)

### II

#### PORTRAIT OF A PAINTER

(Said to be a copy by Bihzad after Gentile Bellini)

*Emil Tabbagh Collection*

RARELY has the art of East and West blended more happily than in this superb seventeenth century portrait of a painter. In so many Persian miniatures figures and drapery are rendered conventionally in a style tradition has made classical; and the classical, as Greece as taught us, is so apt to become "faultily faultless, splendidly null". Here instead of any vacuous type is a definite individual with personality expressed in hands and arms, in the droop of the neck and in the intense concentration of the refined sensitive face. It is the portrait of a fastidious artist scrutinizing a picture with analytical gaze. The Persian beauty of flowing lines and tenuous fabric has been almost usurped by the Venetian beauty of rich texture and voluminous material. The prodigal richness of the thick brocade is emphasized by the translucency of the austere face and the hands. The thickness of the velvet is further brought out by the light cambric of handkerchief and turban. For huge though the turban is, it is not heavy, and with Persian virtuosity the painter has given rotundity to its folds without shading.

Two other points deserve remark. Had the simplicity of the upper half of the picture been continued into the lower there might have been a sameness in the composition, but monotony has been avoided by the clever arabesque of the cushion's edging. And so perfect are design and texture that the figure of the painter gives the impression of being life size.

### I

#### A COURT DWARF AS THE PLANET MARS

(Attributed to a Persian artist at the court of Murad III, Istanbul, c. A.D. 1580.)

This lively drawing is Plate XVII in the finely illustrated work on *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art*, by Eric Schroeder,

published by the Harvard University Press in 1942. Readers interested in the history and the symbolism of the drawing will find them in the scholarly letterpress of that book. Here I am concerned only with its merits as a work of art.

Compared with the masterpiece described above, this portrait of a dwarf is conventional, and though it is less academic than many Persian drawings, the artist's adherence to tradition has partly robbed the face and hands of the individuality they can so nearly claim. As in many Persian miniatures hands, face, and drapery are monotonously alike in texture. And though the flow of lines indicating the drapery is free and eloquent, the great care devoted to the outline of the turban has left it flat and dry compared with the generous fullness of the headgear in the portrait attributed to Bihzad.

His subject has led the artist to compress the figure into a circle, and the shortness of the dwarf's legs has abetted his design. The whole composition emphasizes the rotundity of the dwarf's paunch. And the heavy strokes that underline its pendulous weight are in deliberate contrast to the delicate drawing of the nether garments. Even about the feet and ankles, booted as they are, there is a feeling of lightness.

The drawing lacks the high seriousness of great art, of the dwarfs painted by Velasquez, for example. Craftsmanship content with decoration hardly attempts to interpret but revels gaily in a *jeu d'esprit*.

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## The Shaman or Chinese Wu : His inspired dancing and versatile character

By L. C. HOPKINS

THE Shaman or Wizard of the proto-historic Orient, his vocation, his reputation, his strange psychosis, his claim to thaumaturgic powers, and his place in the social structure of his community, are not all these written in the chronicles of the Works of de Groot and Shirokogoroff ?

It is not the aim of the present study to try to add to the mass of information gathered by these two authorities named above. But from one expression of opinion held by Professor de Groot I must be allowed to dissent. He writes in the last volume of his monumental but unfinished work, *The Religious System of China*, vol. 6, p. 1192, concerning the term 巫 *wu*, " Its written form may have had in ancient ages quite another shape, and this point has been an object of speculation to some authors ; but we do not feel tempted to follow them in such idle work." However, undiscouraged by this *obiter dictum* of the distinguished scholar, I propose to show the unmistakable shape of the dancing Shaman as it has been disclosed in one inscription of Shang and one of Early Chou Dynasty date. And further the variously simplified versions or perversions of early and picturesque design, which reveal themselves to a careful scrutiny of recorded forms illumined by a gleam of imagination.

But this task means the finding of a clue to the disentanglement of several constructional snarls and the stripping of certain misleading disguises.

On the whole it seems best to make the Shuo Wen and its Lesser Seal forms the jumping-off point of our inquiry. Here then is the Shuo Wen's illustration of the character now written 巫 *wu*, a Shaman, but  (Fig. 1) in the Lesser Seal. This word Hsü Shên defines, or rather explains thus, 巫祝也 *wu chu yeh*, which, in my view, meant in Hsü's mind, " a *wu* or Shaman is a *chu* " or " Invoker ", to adopt de Groot's rendering, though " Imprecator " would perhaps be a closer connotation. The Shuo Wen rather dilates on the powers of the female *wu* to influence spiritual but invisible beings, but all that need concern us here is its analysis of the character's structure. Here is the view the author,

Hsü Shên, took of it. In the first place he does not follow here his usual analytical routine of naming the component forms, e.g. 從 A 從 B. Had he done so, we should find, 從 工 從 人 (Fig. 2) *ts'ung kung ts'ung ts'ung*, "from *kung* and from *ts'ung*." But instead, he writes, 象 人 兩 袖 舞 形 *hsiang jên liang hsiu wu hsing*, "depicts a man with two sleeves posturing," and

he adds as the *ku wên*, or archaic script, the form



(Fig. 3). Now as to the Lesser Seal form above, Fig. 1, I dissent entirely from the accuracy of Hsü's statement. No spectator of this Lesser Seal form would recognize in it a portrait of a dancing or posturing figure. But if it has no direct mimetic value, neither could this compact assemblage of straight strokes and curving lines represent even symbolically some object of assumed affinity with the Shaman and his thaumaturgic powers.




We may surmise as the probable explanation of Hsü's statement, that he has read into his Seal figure his own recollection of the costume and actions of some Shaman dancer. Turning now to this alleged *ku wên* character, we find it to be a rather poor and worn presentment of the type shown on the early Bronzes and the inscribed Bones of the Honan Find. But if I am not mistaken this rather paradoxical complex offers, as in a glass darkly, one illuminating ray of explanation. For it appears to consist of two components, an upper one corresponding to the Lesser Seal




(Fig. 1) *wu*, and a lower element 𠂔 (Fig. 4), the early form of 升 *kung*, to hold up something with both hands. Thus this *ku wên* character would seem to suggest one man raising and holding aloft another man—and him a wizard! But my conviction is that this lower component was not originally 升 *kung*, the two hands, but 舛 *ch'uan*, the two feet. [Since I wrote the above, chance led me to look up the character 廡 *wu*, a corridor, in the Shuo Wen, and there to my satisfaction I found my surmise verified by the reference to the so-called 籀文 *chou wen* version, viz.



(Fig. 5). But as so often happens, the solution of one difficulty is the starting-point of another. We shall soon see what this is.]

By the time of the Lesser Seal the two characters *kung* and *ch'uan* had become  (Fig. 6) and  (Fig. 7) respectively, and no doubt, in that guise are easy to distinguish. But in a period of lawless violence general culture, and notably the art of writing, must have suffered in quality at the hands of negligent or indifferent scribes, so that as in this so-called *ku wên* form of *wu* to posture, a primitive and appropriate integral, the two feet, gave place to an incongruous and irrelevant adjunct, the two hands. Now if such an alteration occurred, the resulting form would suggest and justify a modern character 

(Fig. 8). Such a character is not to be found in Kanghsi's Dictionary nor in the Shuo Wen. But a character 舞 *wu*, meaning to posture or dance, is included in both these Works. What then? Well the conclusion seems to follow that the alleged *ku wên* cited by Hsü in his Shuo Wen (Fig. 3) as well as his Lesser Seal


form  (Fig. 9) the modern 舞 *wu*, which both have the same sound, represent in fact the same spoken word despite the obvious differences in the two characters.


But that is not all, for I propose to show that the three modern characters 巫 *wu*, shaman, 無 *wu*, the negative verb, not to have, and 舞 *wu*, to posture, can all be traced back to one primitive figure of a man displaying by the gestures of his arms and legs the thaumaturgic powers of his inspired personality.

A rather surprising result impresses itself after sustained comparison of the Honan Find literature with that presented by inscriptions, even by those on the more ancient Bronzes, say of Early Chou Dynasty dates. And here it is well to point out one general and perhaps paradoxical caution affecting the writing of the Oracular Sentences. It is that in the research of the origin and development of the forms of Chinese characters, chronology in point of evidential value has often to yield priority to the claims of typology.

But at this point I am obliged to introduce a new word into the discussion, one having the same sound *wu* as the foregoing characters, but of a totally different semantic origin, and at first



having a separate written structure. In time this graphic novelty became the Lesser Seal  (Fig. 10) defined by the Shuo Wen as 豐 *fēng* luxuriant, thick, dense (of plant life), and analysed by the author, as composed of 林 *lin*, forest, and 夬 (Fig. 11)

not found in the Shuo Wen as a separate character, but only as an element in certain compounds. In illustration of this use, Hsü Shên cites from the *Hung Fan*, Great Plan, Section of the Shu King, the phrase 庶草蕃廡 *shu ts'ao fan wu*, where the last character was originally written  (Fig. 12). Dr. Legge renders the four words by "The various plants will be abundantly luxuriant".<sup>1</sup> It is clear what happened. To avoid the risk of confusion and misunderstanding between the two discordant senses, the less usual word was provided with suitable determinatives (or laterals, as the Chinese call them), in this case, 廡 or 蕪, read *wu* in both.

To return from this digression, we have to consider the nature of the inscriptions on these two vehicles, animal bones, and Bronze Vessels, for it is not the same. Both of course spring from the same base of archaic script, but as the occasions of their respective exposition were unrelated, so too their destinations were far apart. For in the Oracular Sentences the entries consist of brief memoranda of various routine ceremonial duties recorded by the scribes, and apparently filed for reference, and of notes concerning events and activities of the Sovereign, his health, his movements, his hunting and military expeditions, and so forth. But, it may be asked, why did these official scribes choose animal bones on which to engrave their oracular entries? Certainly it looks an eccentric choice of material. But the cause of this seemingly strange choice is not far to seek. Any student grappling with these archaic texts on bone fragments will very soon encounter mention of animal sacrificial victims, ox, sheep, swine, and dogs. And it is my surmise that through the pious slaughter and oblation of these immolated victims the celebrants secured for their secretarial needs a supply of writing material commodious, copious, and continuous, in the form of these animal bones. And did not these also, perhaps, diffuse among those present at the actual ceremonies a certain odour,

<sup>1</sup> *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, part 2, pp. 339-340.

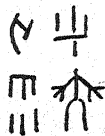
as it were, of provisional sacrosanctity due to the celestial provenance of oracular responses?

And this brings us to the second vehicle for conveying things seen or said by writing, namely the more ancient Bronze Vessels.

Very different in aspect from that incised on the Honan bones is the script of the ritual Bronzes. The robust and self-confident style of these characters, with their freedom from the cramping compression of an inadequate background, demarcates them widely from the neat and narrow linearity, and the minuscule dimensions of those in the Oracular Sentences.

It is now time to return to my main task, the disentanglement, disintegration, and disillusion of the three modern characters 巫, 無, and 舞, all pronounced *wu*, and to the restoration, rehabilitation, and reassembly of primitive contours in their pristine candour.

Here, then, on one of the Honan bones is the simplest version of 巫 *wu*, the shaman; simplest, but far from being the most primitive, as we shall see. It forms one of a four-word formula on a bone fragment in my Collection (H. 638). A facsimile copied by myself and transcribed in modern Chinese, exhibits its pregnant brevity.



(Fig 13)

= modern 呼 巫 亡 雨 *hu wu wu yü*, "summons to the Shaman no rain." Immediately above this panel is another entry in the same terms except that instead of the third character *wu* is another and antithetic syllable 有 (Fig 14) *yu*, there is or are, i.e. literally, "summons to the Shaman there is rain." Above this again are two further panels containing the same antithetic quatrain (so to call it) in the same order, negative and positive. Thus we have four examples of *wu* the Shaman in identical form, one which cannot be challenged, though of exceptional conciseness. This bone fragment is also remarkable for the rare appearance of a red powder (ochre?) smeared into the incised characters with what significance is uncertain, but possibly it refers to the so-called 赤帝 *ch'ih ti*, Red Planet or Mars, whom as the divinity controlling fiery heat and scorching droughts, it was well to placate in such



seasons, through the good offices and winsome postures of the *wu* or Dancing Master.

Let us proceed to a fuller and more specialized portrait of this personage, and to a passage of the compilation known as the Chou Li, or *Rites des Tcheou*, as Biot renders it, which work whatever its real date may have been, does without doubt conserve many terms and titles current in the conquered and discredited Shang-Yin dynasty.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.



Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.


The above series of figures (Nos. 15 to 20), proceeding from the more to the less complex, do not at first view tell their own tale, the human figure is obvious, but what are these dependant objects ? The answer to this query will be found in two passages of the Chou Li. In one of these (Book 12, paragraph 12) the text runs, 帥而舞旱暵之事 *shuai erh wu han han chih shih*, et sont chefs de danse dans les cérémonies des temps de sécheresse, as Biot translates.

In Book 22, par. 41, under the caption 樂師 *yo shih*, The Music Master, we are told that his duties included instructing the "Sons of the State" in the Six Dances, of which we must note three, one the 羽舞 *yü wu*, or Feathers Dance, another the 皇舞 *huang wu*, or Phoenix Plumage Dance, and thirdly, the 人舞 *jên wu*, or Man Dance, in which the executant grasps nothing in aid, but by his hands and sleeves demonstrates imposing dignity of demeanour, 以手袖爲威儀 *i shou hsiu wei wei i*. Hence we may reasonably see in the objects hanging from the extended arms, if not from the hands, of the human frames in Figs. 15 to 20 above, either the feathered wands, or the phoenix plumage, named in the Chou Li and the notes of its commentators. And we are not to expect in the synthetic lynning of the early scribes the photographic realism of modern portraiture or the blue-print exactitude of the trained technician, any more than we need cast hypercritical eyes on the juvenile and, in a manner, chalcolithic illustrations on the pavement as we pass them by. But our Chinese primitives, the character builders, faced often a baffling task, but face it they did, doing the best they could. And when, as with the word before us, they had not the skill and manual dexterity to present by immediate impact

on the vision the actual image of a rapidly moving body, they fell back on the slower but insidious suggestiveness of symbols. For symbol or graphic gesture is surely the proper term for the misplaced or displaced or over-emphasized or distorted features of some previous norm.



Returning now to the several figures cited from the Honan bones and the earliest Bronzes which answer to the modern 巫 *wu* Shaman, and to 舞 *wu*, to dance. None of these contains as its lowest element the component now written 舛 *ch'uan* (Kanghsi's 136th Radical), unless the conjecture hazarded by myself on p. 4 proves correct that the lowest component of the Shuo Wen's alleged 巫 *wên* form (see Fig. 3) was not 𠂔 (Fig. 21) *kung* but 𠂔 (Fig. 22)

*ch'uan*, namely not two hands, but two feet. Yet one might suppose that if ever a human figure deserved to have his feet emphatically displayed it should be the whirling posturing *wu* or Shaman. And what is stranger is that certain variants of the same graphic theme do contain the ancient scription of *ch'uan*, the two feet, but such characters, though complete with feet, do not function with the sense of *wu*, Shaman, but with that of its unrelated though homophonous syllable 無 *wu*, the negative verb, not to have, not to be. This is so with the quaint


design,  (Fig. 23), occurring in a Chou inscription of some

fifty-one words,<sup>1</sup> in which followed by the character 彊, limit, we find 無 彊 *wu chiang*, unlimited, unbounded. In this crudely drawn and partly unfinished complex of waving arms and capering feet there seems nevertheless a certain dash and gay abandon absent from the staid and formalized aspect of this character elsewhere. But it is also a rough assemblage of component parts not very easy to dissect or rationalize. Certainly the lowest element is some more or less misshapen version of the old form of 舛 *ch'uan*, across, thwart, counter, but the casual treatment of detail in the two arms is rather baulking. However, with some hesitation I hazard the conjecture that the loop on and across each arm is meant to suggest the broad open sleeve of the ceremonial robe worn by shamans. And relevant to the above design is an insignificant

<sup>1</sup> *Chün'ku lu chün wên*, ch. 3, part 1, p. 33.

little character shown in  (Fig. 24), on an insignificant little bone fragment cited by Kuo Mo-jo in his *Yin Ch'i Sui Pien* as No. 1320, and described by him as an unusual (or different) variant of 舞 *wu* "representing a man with long sleeves gracefully dancing" 象人長袖天天然而舞 *hsiang jên ch'ang hsiu yao yao jan erh wu*. Strictly, Fig. 24 would correspond to a modern 佻 (Fig. 25), if the Dictionaries recognized such a form, but they don't. And fortunately for latter-day epigraphists the penmen of these documents also set little store by convenient contractions or stenographic laxity. One of the more recently discovered Bronzes now well known as the *Chou Kung tui* 周公敦, may fitly be appealed to on this point. Professor Yetts speaks of "the beauty of the script and the content entitle it to rank among the aristocracy of epigraphy".<sup>1</sup> But my particular concern with this inscription rests on its containing two characters very relevant, indeed illuminating, in any attempt to unravel the perplexing history of the modern character 無 *wu*. Now these two characters, transcribed into their modern equivalents, would be 無終 *wu chung* (or more strictly 無冬 *wu tung*), not having an end, endless, but in the original text the *wu* is written as Fig. 16, and *chung* is  (Fig. 25), which last form we are not here interested in. But as to Fig. 16, occurring in this Early Chou text, we must note two things, first, that *graphically* it is *wu* to dance, later written 舞, but *functionally* it is *wu* 無 the negative verb.







And at this point, at the risk of following a seemingly irrelevant topic, Fig. 16 also shows that if this Figure is correctly equated with the modern 無, this latter form cannot be derived from the


Lesser Seal character  (Fig. 26), meaning, according to the

Shuo Wen, 豐 *feng*, bounteous, abundant. But on this head I cannot do better or more convincingly than by quoting a passage from T'ang Lan's note on a Bone inscription (Bone No. 36) of the Wang I-jung Collection.<sup>2</sup> T'ang had been discussing the Shuo Wen's Lesser Seal form, shown a few lines above, and


*The Eumorfopoulos Collection* vol. 1, p. 27.


<sup>2</sup> 天壤閣甲骨文存考釋 T'ien Jang Ko Chia Ku Wen Ts'un K'ao Shih, p. 38.


cites also Figures  (Fig. 18),  (Fig. 19), and particularly  (Fig. 17), all Bone instances, together with  (Fig. 27), from Bronzes of Shang-Yin times, later still modified to  (Fig. 28) and  (Fig. 29) *wu* (viz. the Shuo Wen's Lesser Seal version of 舞). Thus the last character (Fig. 29) *wu*, T'ang continues, originally figured a man from whose two arms were suspended feathered plumes or the foliage of plants, as the adornment of a dancer. It is quite incorrect to dissect the character as being made up of 林 *lin* and 夬 (Fig. 30), and that is why this last form is not to be found in the Shuo Wen. Hsü's Work contains many conjectures by later hands, and as the text mentions regarding this form, some explain it as the figure of a 規模 *kuei mo*, mould. Thus far T'ang Lan, leaving this last "explanation" in a silence that may be felt.

To the same effect is the opinion of another fine and sometimes more daring explorer of these cryptic but fascinating relics, Mr. Kuo Mo-jo. Kuo has been examining a small series of bone entries (Nos. 845-8 and 1547), on one of which, No. 848, he has a most interesting and informative note and comment. The form in question is a combination of 雨 *yü*, rain, above my Fig. 17, not found in the Shuo Wen nor Kanghsi, but transcribed  (Fig. 31) by Kuo. This hitherto unknown character is, Kuo finds


after careful examination of the relevant passages, a verb (動詞 *tung tz'ü*), and always relates to prayers for rain, so that it must be a variant script of 雩 *yü*, to offer sacrifice and prayers at midsummer for rain, being itself composed with 雨 *yü*, rain, and 無 *wu*, phonetic, but also serving to add to the sense, for, as Kuo says, 無古文舞 *wu ku wên wu*, that is, the ancient form of 無 is the ancient character of 舞 *wu*, to dance. And in support of this equation he quotes the Shuo Wen's text under 雩 *yü*, "In summer sacred music was performed to the Red god 赤帝 *ch'ih ti* in prayer for seasonable rain, 甘雨 *kan yü*." And after certain further elucidation of the available evidence Kuo sums up, These evidences suffice to show that the character *wu*, Fig. 31, accords with the notion of dancing 從舞之意 *ts'ung wu ch'ih i*, and further that the practice of ritual dancing in the 雩 *yü* ceremony was a continuation of Yin Dynastic custom.

When two such distinguished scholars and critics as T'ang Lan and Kuo Mo-jo agree on a point of Chinese etymography, as we see they do here, it takes some hardihood for a mere student of the West to venture even a supplementary conjecture. But this is what I feel the result of my study of the many extant examples of this character 無 *wu* impels me to do, and especially to harbour a doubt in connection with a type  (Fig. 32) appearing as a

component and in many other examples. I believe that this type is not to be ignored, the instances are too numerous. Let us examine its structure. Obviously it is duplicated, and each half consists of wood, 木, surmounted by a cup-shaped object representing perhaps a Flower-head, or perhaps a Fruit. Transcribed into modern script in the Kanghsi Dictionary (under the character 梅 *mei*), it, together with a form  (Fig. 33) *mou*, is there styled

the *ku wên* of 梅 *mei*, plum, and printed  (Fig. 34).

But in the Shuo Wen, several hundred years earlier than Kanghsi, the duplicated form is given as the *ku wên* not of 梅 *mei*, but of 某 *mou*, described as *suan kuo*, a sour or acid fruit.

And in Tuan Yü-ts'ai's edition, this duplicate is drawn as  (Fig. 35).

Tuan was a scholar of such high distinction that we may take it for certain that he did not introduce this unusual script without knowing it to be authentic. And if so, it is the true original (or, as he calls it, 正 *chêng*) script of 某 *mou*, now superseded by the more modern 梅 *mei*, Plumtree, as to its form, and partially as to its pronunciation, which last, however, presents no difficulty.

Now this triangular-headed form, whether in its duplicated or single version, indicates in my view a floral or at least a botanical imagery, and I would add as very pertinent a remark by Bretschneider relative to his entry on 梅 *mei*, p. 294, "nowadays in China is a general term applied to several species of *Prunus*, some of them with edible fruits, others not eatable. . . . At least the 梅花 *mei hua* (*mei* flower) cultivated at Peking for its beautiful double flowers." And so, whether we regard the duplicity or the singularity of the ancient character we have to recognize in each the word *mou* or *mu*, Plum-tree, 某. But when by the efflux of



time *mou*, as a Plumtree, had been abandoned for the more modern 梅 *mei*, the older and true scripton was taken on to represent a homophone, but semantically a totally different word. This syllable *mou* might, I conjecture, have meant *who* or *what* originally, but it has long stood for a conventional method of not uttering certain personal names for good reasons or sometimes bad, recalling an old song that used to run, "Oh no! We never mention him, his name is never heard." Thus Dr. Herbert Giles, as to Confucius, writes: "His personal name *Ch'iu* is taboo; it is never written or uttered. A stroke is left out in writing, while the reverent student pronounces it *mou* 'a certain person'." So much for the single form of *mou*. There remains the more difficult duplicate. This, with its interposed element 𠂇 (Fig. 36) (with various small differences) which appears to be 大 *ta*, great, becomes a complex identical with the Lesser Seal of the Shuo Wen, which is there defined as 豐 *fêng*, bounteous, abundant. And so we come again to the modern character 無 *wu*, answering in sense to the word of that sound which is used for the negative verb, not to have, and also, in French, to n'y avoir. Now this character 無 cannot be traced back to any archaic complex discoverable on the *Honan bones* that could have resulted, through the gradual process of changes of outline and inscape, in the transformation into the actual ultimate imago. The equivalent but absolutely different form used by the scribes of the Oracular Sentences for the negative verb was 𠂇 (Fig. 37), the modern 亡 (*wu* or *wang*). The scribes in their daily work required brevity of form with economy of effort, and they had what they sought in the above Fig. 37, so far as this particular word goes. But I ought to point out that the above caution applies only to the writing on the *Honan bone fragments*. For the artists of the Bronze ritual vessels which display the culture and designs of the Shang and Early Chou periods, not only by the perfection and finish of the Bronzes themselves, but by the quality of the invaluable inscriptions thus provided for the student of early Chinese history and its cryptic writing, these rare geniuses—is it too strong a word?—followed a more splendid ideal.

I bring this study to an end with the figure and discussion of a rare and most remarkable example of the Wu or Shaman character, as it appears, not standing by itself, but as a component in a larger structure. I am indebted to Professor Yetts' skilled draftsmanship

for the accompanying Fig. 38







. It represents the word *ling*

now written 靈. This peculiar and I think unique scription is found in seven practically identical instances in the two identical inscriptions on two Bronze Bells, a 鐘 *chung*, and a 罇 *po*. These Bells are now known as the 叔夷鐘 *Shu I Chung* and *Po*, which are classed by Professor Yetts as of the 3rd Phase of his scheme, and they can be safely dated by their own evidence as cast in the reign of Prince Ling of the Ch'i State, from 581 to 554 B.C. But there were Rulers of the same name, gilded Dukes and belted Earls, in others of the Feudal States of the Spring and Autumn Period, in Ts'in, Ch'u, Ch'ên, and Chêng for example, entitled to wear the same honoured designation. What then is the import of this term *ling*? Indeed it is not easy to find a single and suitable word in English. But *ling* connotes something magical, mysterious, unearthly, superhuman, but on the whole of a benign quality. In certain phrases, such as *ling ming* 命, *ling chung* 終, *ling li* 力, the Chinese dictionaries equate it with 善 *shan*, meaning fair, blessed, and an abbreviated alternative form is then used in the older Bronzes, thus 靈 *ling*.

Now the above few paragraphs are relevant, indeed needed, because this exceptional and larger structure and complex contains as its most important element our character 巫 *wu*, a Shaman, and that in no phonetic role, but as having a pregnant relevancy due to its inclusion in this character 靈 *ling*. Now the earlier, albeit more elaborate, shape of this is shown in Fig. 38 above. In the process of demolition it falls into three parts. A summit giving the sound *ling*, a medial group pointing towards the sense, *wu*, and a base, doing neither, and hitherto unexplained (未詳 *wei hsiang*, as the Chinese critics say), but consisting of a variant of *huo*, fire. It is this medial group that interests us, and requires some explanations and comments. In the first place, then, there is a question of identity. If the reader will trouble to compare our medial group with the obviously human form in the group appearing in my Figures 15 and 16 of the Shang-Yin period, he will I believe find them essentially the same, while certain details and adjuncts differ considerably. In both groups the head is absent, or scarcely indicated, but the body and the four limbs, with the two arms

outstretched, are plain, and, what is very rare in these commonly linear outlines, the torso is well shown. Why then do the two groups differ so much in their outlines? It is because one appears as a single independent character, while the other is a medial component in a three-storied structure. No wonder then that our *wu* or Shaman, stooping under the ponderous mass of the summit *ling* above, and embarrassed by the activity of the fire *huo*, beneath him, seems but a squat and congested distortion of his natural form, thus rather recalling the plight of the Prophet Jonah, crouching central and indigestible within his cetaceous confines.

However, I must not ignore the fact that one distinguished Chinese scholar would not accept my view of this character being *wu*, a Shaman. I am a convinced admirer of Mr. Kuo Mo-jo, of his massive learning, and his unusually original conjectures, but he has his weak moments, and to be brief, where I see the suppliant postures of an exorcizing shaman, Kuo sees only the centenarian carapace of an inspired tortoise. Well, time will show.

Meanwhile, if we examine the ensemble of this medial design we do seem led to recognize in it regretfully the rather disordered remains of a decayed dancing-master. Especially we should notice the drawing of the two hands  (Fig. 39) and  (Fig. 40), on one side of the torso the fingers point upwards, on the other downwards. They are detached from the arms, so that their relation to these is not pictural and realistic, but essentially symbolical and suggestive. And even so, not a self-explaining symbol, rather, a finger-post pointing towards another sign of more obvious intention. This is found in Fig. 24 where one flexed arm points upwards to the sky, and one downwards to the earth, representing in any case the "man with two sleeves posturing", as the Shuo Wen has it in its notes on the character  *wu*. But now as a sort of postscript to this study, and if not a sting in the tail at least what the Chinese scholar calls a "doubt, that remains" (存疑 *ts'un i*), there stands the archaic character  (Fig. 41), at one time held to be an old variant of 火 *huo*, fire, but now known to be the early form of 亦 *i*. Ought we to integrate this basic element with the medial component immediately above it? Or ought it to be taken as a member of the full form *ling*, Fig. 38? I am unable to say.



What, however, I can say and prove is that in this archaic figure we have the original design of the word for *night*, the modern 夜 *yeh*. Thanks to Lo Chên-yü's photo-lithographs of eight large shoulder-blades inscribed and of the Shang Yin period, I have been able to find eight instances of Fig. 41 in the eight texts.<sup>1</sup> In all cases the word *yeh*, night, is apposite, and in one it is crucial, where the phrase occurs 旁夜 *pang yeh*, near nightfall, 𠄎 𠄎 (Fig. 42). And here a Full Stop, and Farewell to all Wu, wizards, dancing-masters, and other doubtful characters.

<sup>1</sup> See Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Ch'ien Hua*, Plates 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.

## Old Malay Legal Digests and Malay Customary Law

By R. O. WINSTEDT

DIGESTS of law collected from all the races of the Malay archipelago fill many printed volumes. In the Malay peninsula they are of three main types. There are digests and tribal sayings that embody the mild indigenous matriarchal law of agricultural clans, the '*adat perpateh* or Law of Prime Ministers, found among the Minangkabaus of Sumatra and their colonists in Negri Sembilan. There are digests of patriarchal law deterrent to criminals, the '*adat Temenggong* or Law of the Minister for War and Police, evolved for the mixed population of ports, law introduced largely from India along with commerce by traders and adventurers, at first Hindu and later Muslim. (This second type of law may be further divided into general digests of constitutional criminal and civil law, full of relics of indigenous custom and borrowings from the period of Hindu influence but modelled on text-books of Muslim canon law and containing many of its provisions; secondly, digests of port rules adopted by countries like Aceh and Kedah from regulations of the kind India knew from the days of Chandra Gupta to the time of the Great Moguls; and, thirdly, digests of maritime law compiled, it is said, for Bugis trading vessels.) The last of the main types requires no comment, being Malay translations of orthodox Muslim works of the school of Shafi'i, especially treatises on the law of marriage, divorce, and the legitimacy of children, the only branch of Muslim canon law that Malays have adopted practically unchanged.

As will be seen, in the field of criminal law no two systems could be more different at any rate in theory than the mild customary law of the Minangkabau agriculturists, and the deterrent law introduced first by rulers of Hindu origin and then by Muslims from India and later from Arabia. The customary law of the Minangkabaus of Negri Sembilan was known to the whole community and administered by chiefs elected by the people, responsible to the people and reluctant to deprive the community of labour by execution, mutilation, or even imprisonment. On the contrary, no one quite knew the provisions of the patriarchal police law designed with its public cages of starved and mutilated criminals

to cow the cosmopolitan mob in a port like medieval Malacca ; showing as it did ideas of caste in different penalties for rajas, nobles, free men and slaves, and being administered and interpreted by despots and autocrats according to their mood, prejudice, sadism or senile puritanism. For a long period, at any rate, the punishments inflicted might evidently be either those of Hindu or those of Muslim law, as a chief pleased, and the interpretation of what was customary was neither constant nor universal and never ceased to be vague. It would, however, be a mistake to imagine that Malay rulers were all irresponsible despots. Just before Perak came under British protection in 1874 the Malay chiefs had passed over a claimant to the throne as being unjust and tyrannical. And even among Hindus there was the practice of compounding murder by the payment of blood-money, so that Hindu influence made no absolute break with the clement Malay custom of imposing a fine instead of the death sentence, a custom apparently in full force in eighteenth century Perak, in spite of that State's patriarchal and aristocratic constitution. Under the old Malacca law the ruler could pardon a murderer, the abductor of a married woman and a person guilty of *lèse-majesté*, and a minister (*mantri*) could pardon one guilty of any other offence.

This Malacca law is the earliest of which we have record. For the first general digest of laws administered by despotic Malay rulers and chiefs and the earliest digest of Malay maritime law were both compiled for Mahmūd, that clever half-caste weakling of Malay and Indian blood, who was the last Sultan of Malacca. This general digest dates from about A.D. 1523 when he was reigning over the fragments of a mushroom empire that Alfonso d'Albuquerque had shattered at its core ; and it is interesting to note the digest was drawn up under the patronage of Sultan Mahmūd's son Muẓaffar, who, when rejected as his father's successor to what had become the Johore throne, went north and was installed the first Sultan of Perak. Better known as Malacca Laws (*Undang-undang Mēlaka*) than by its Arabic title of *Risalat Hukum Kanun* "A tract on customary law", it starts with a preamble of Hindu pattern on the modes of dress and styles of clothing forbidden to all except the ruler, prescribing death for those who dared to wear royal yellow or lift hands in homage to anyone but the Sultan ; the confiscation of gold-mounted daggers from those unauthorized to wear them, and the tearing of diaphanous garments off the backs

of those not privileged by royal favour to affect such soft luxury. After that the compiler makes the sweeping statement that death is the punishment for ten offences, a number common in Hindu law; namely, murder, stabbing and hacking; striking, robbery, theft, bringing false charges (*běrtudoh-tudohan*), perjury before a judge (*běrdusta 'kan hakim*), betraying royal commands (*běrijual titah*) and opposing them. For some of these offences lesser penalties are prescribed later. The betrayer of royal commands might be scalped or have his tongue split. And though death had been given as the punishment for thieves, it is stated later that the theft of cattle or poultry from their pens is punishable by fine and restitution under the custom, and by restitution only according to Muhammadan law! Elsewhere the compiler reveals his knowledge of the Muslim *lex talionis*, namely the exaction of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, under which a thief loses not his life but a hand, and he adds quite correctly that Muslim law does not regard the purloining of garden produce as a crime grave enough to justify such amputation. It looks as if he was either a confused thinker who quoted scraps of Hindu law no longer in use or more probably recorded current inconsistencies and deliberately left scope for an autocratic ruler to follow customary, Hindu or Muslim law as he pleased. Anyhow the generalization as to the death sentence for ten offences can hardly have exaggerated the disregard of life in old Malacca. We are told that the victim of a blow could kill the man who had struck him, any time within three days without being guilty of crime, and that if he killed him after that interval he was still only liable to be fined, although Muslim law, it is noted, would hold him guilty of murder. Even a slave in Malacca was permitted to avenge assault by a free man by killing his assailant without incurring a charge of culpable homicide.

Towards accomplices Malacca exhibited the lenient customary and Muslim attitude. If only one of a gang of burglars entered a house, he alone suffered amputation of a hand; any accomplice had his face smeared with chalk, soot and saffron, and with the stolen goods hung about his neck was gonged round the town, a dish-cover for his umbrella as he sat on a pink buffalo decked with hibiscus flowers. In the early days of British protection a callow European official witnessed this ignominy (for which there are Hindu as well as Muslim precedents) being inflicted on an adulteress in Perak, and was very properly asked by the British

Resident if he was a white man to permit such barbarity. His excuse was that the Malays had told him, correctly enough, that it was a humane Muslim alternative for stoning to death. Even Malacca's medieval customary law was more lenient towards sexual offences than contemporary Muslim practice. Muhammadan law prescribed death by stoning not only for adultery with a married woman but for the married man guilty of fornication (with anyone but a slave), and eighty stripes for any person who falsely charged another with these sexual irregularities, but Malay custom only fined the libertine and the slanderer. At a time when conversion to Islam was recent and incomplete the omission from the Malacca digest of any reference to penalties for drunkenness and apostasy was natural. But imperfect as it was both for Muslim and customary law, the digest was respected in Kedah, Pahang, and Riau and at Pontianak, and down to quite recent times it was quoted as authoritative (in civil suits) at Brunei, though clearly such a haphazard compendium invited revision and needed supplementing.

Accordingly within a century it was supplanted by a digest that in its preamble claims validity in Perak, Pahang, and that old Johore empire which was built from the fragments of the Malaccan empire. This new compilation, of which an authoritative printed edition is needed, was prepared for 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār, a descendant of Malacca's royal house, who ruled Pahang from 1592 till 1614, a poor creature apparently, despised by his consort's Trengganu relatives, who, however, as a concession presumably to his pious scruples, killed all their dogs when he visited them. In Perak his digest was known as the State Laws (*Undang-undang kĕrajaan*) or the Laws of the Eight, because the administration of them was vested in the Eight Mantri or major territorial chiefs. The digest devotes only a few short sections to what we should term criminal law. It lays down an extraordinary immoral penalty for a slave who assaulted a free man, namely that after retaliation in kind he should have his hands nailed down while the free man was to be at liberty to enjoy his wife, but only until retaliation should be effected! The Malacca digest prescribed the amputation of the slave's hand. But in many respects the Pahang compilation keeps close to Sunni law-books, imposing for example in addition to a beating a year's banishment on the fornicator and exempting the thief of a small sum from amputation. Under the law of Shafi'i homicide accompanied by theft was punishable by death and the



corpse was to be exposed on a cross for three days. The Pahang digest has substituted for crucifixion the ancient punishment of impaling, borrowed by Malays from the Hindu as a punishment for theft, and lays it down that the malefactor be impaled for three days. On *lèse-majesté* and treason it is tactfully vague. Wearers of royal yellow and gold-hilted daggers were to have those contumacious articles confiscated, or according to sounder authorities (*kaul yang alkyar*) they were to be executed. One section reproduces the mild Shaf'ite rules for the suppression of armed rebellion. Another, which prescribes three hundred and sixty tortures for traitors, to be followed by quartering, gave sanction for the horrible punishments that survived in Pahang until the British period. In 1674 the yearly journal kept by the Dutch Governor at Malacca records how the Sultan of Johore, then in Pahang, had had the hands and feet cut off a Jambi pirate, his back-bone split open, and the wounds smeared with salt and pepper. Another Pahang method of execution was to weight the condemned's body with a stone and drown him. A variation was to fix the nape of the criminal's neck in a cleft branch and tow him in the wake of a boat till he was dead. And there are still living old men who have seen a youth, guilty of *lèse-majesté* by some trivial court intrigue, with his scalp pulled down over his eyes and his body tied to a stake in the Pahang estuary to be drowned by the rising tide.

There must have been rulers and ministers who set their faces against this savagery. Leniency is the mark of the Ninety-Nine Laws of Perak, for example, a digest written down by Sayids of the great Hadramaut house of Ahmad bin Isa al-Mohājir, who in the middle of the eighteenth century held the high office of Mantri or Justiciar in Perak. The Ninety-Nine Laws prescribe fines as the punishment for adultery and banishment in default of payment. The Muslim guilty of homicide was to pay a fine and to provide a buffalo or a white goat for the funeral feast. Even an infidel was not to be put to death for homicide. Whatever crime a man committed, these Sayid Justiciars held that provided he could pay the proper fine his sins should be pardoned in this world. "Otherwise, of what use would be gold?" It is easy to see how these Sayids bowed to the older Malay tribal views on punishment and how they acquired place and honour.

Yet even these Ninety-Nine Laws of theirs advise that, if evidence is as "dark as a black fowl flying by night" there can, it is true,

be no conviction but the suspected person may be fined or else privily killed ! Circumstantial evidence was held to suffice for conviction under all systems of Malay law, and a woman's possession of a piece of a man's trousers was proof of the paternity of her child ! At an autocratic court even a dream might be accounted good evidence. Vaughan, a shipwrecked sailor, held captive in Johore in 1702, saw a Malay creessed and his wife drowned with a stone tied to her neck, because whenever the sick Bendahara went to sleep he dreamt that the couple were trying to strangle him ! When evidence was as clear as a " white fowl flying by day " there was still the danger that an aristocratic judge, accustomed to the casuistry Muslim pundits displayed to impress Malay royalty, might come to a decision so ingenious as to be at once absurd and iniquitous. At a court which we had persuaded the Sultan of Pahang to institute just before the British took over the administration of his State, the heirs of the original owner of a buffalo sold along with five calves thirty years before, preferred a claim against the purchaser for twenty-two calves born subsequently. All the buffaloes were confiscated by the court as well as the purchaser's other movable property and his house and land, on the ground that he had wounded and seduced a woman twenty years before, a woman who all those years had been his wife !

The Pahang digest summarizes the qualifications of a witness, and states the number of witnesses demanded by Muhammadan law. But of what use were these rules among people disposed to accept any circumstantial evidence and in places where a crowd of sycophants would say anything to please their chiefs, and where a show of independence might lead to a witness being cut down in court for *lèse-majesté* ? A man was often not an individual entitled to a fair trial but a *corpus vile* between rival rajas and chiefs. When his brother the ruler of Pahang had a chief executed Sultan Maḥmūd of Malacca sent the Lakṣamana his High Admiral to murder one of the executioner's family in retaliation ! If it happened to be the family of a powerful chief that was entitled to vengeance, even a Sultan might hesitate to protect his own creature. When a pandar for Sultan Maḥmūd had stabbed an inconvenient husband, the most the Sultan could do was to contrive his escape, and then years later, when the fellow returned from exile, to send him bound to Sriwa Raja, head of the injured family, with a plea for pardon. Sriwa Raja killed the man with his elephant goad.

The innocent were liable to suffer as well as the guilty. The wife and children of a traitor became slaves of the Raja in perpetuity. And when an eighteenth century Sultan of Perak was on his death-bed a woman of the palace was killed as part of his treatment, merely because she was mad.

Different as they were there were points in common between Malay and Muslim criminal law. Both punished offences against private morality, the Malay law adultery and the highly constructive crime of tribal incest, the Muslim adultery—and fornication, which in primitive Malay communities was the accepted road to marriage. For both systems murder was an injury to the family of the victim rather than an offence against the State, and both of them allowed monetary compensation in lieu of the death penalty. Although the amputation of a hand was retained from pagan days as the Muslim punishment for theft, the Prophet declared the mutilation even of a mad dog to be unlawful, thereby aligning himself with the primitive Malay who always sought to compound offences. The penalty for treason against the semi-divine Malay Raja was death, and so was the penalty for apostasy from Islam ; but Malays guilty of treason were like Hindu traitors impaled, a form of execution unknown to Arabs and showing its place of origin by its Sanskrit name (*sula*). For in spite of the injunctions of Islam the Malays, like other Muslims, retained tortures and modes of execution dating from their days of ignorance, more especially their Hindu period. The Malacca digest provides an example of the transition from earlier practices in the current ordeals employed to test veracity. While Muslim missionaries taught that it sufficed to swear with a hand on the pulpit in a mosque, custom still required the litigants to compete at diving or at plunging a hand into boiling oil or molten tin, but the potsherd the successful competitor would extract bore an inscription calling on Allah and the four Archangels to reveal which of the litigants spoke the truth. A contemporary missionary praised Sultan Iskandar II who ruled Acheh between 1635 and 1641 for abolishing the two old Hindu ordeals of immersion in boiling oil and licking red-hot steel. Modern Muslim countries like Turkey and Egypt have abolished the death penalty for apostasy and would not think of stoning to death those taken in adultery or of amputating the hand or foot of a thief, nor do they countenance the compounding of murder. And their example made it easy for the British to drop the deference paid by the East India Company



to the criminal system of the Kuran and to deal with all crime in the Malay States in accordance with the Indian Penal Code. This reform was also facilitated by the vagueness of Malay legal knowledge outside the Minangkabau communities of Negri Sembilan, a vagueness so nebulous that, alongside the autocratic Laws of the Eight, Perak admitted a digest of matriarchal Minangkabau law which it termed the Laws of the Twelve from a reference in its preamble to twelve tribal elders! Above all the change was easy because the Malays instinctively preferred a legal system fixed and humane as their primitive indigenous custom had been.

In the Malacca, the Pahang, and the Perak digests there is no distinction drawn between constitutional, criminal and civil law. Constitutional law is generally commensurate with the ruler's prerogatives in the wearing of clothes and weapons, though some digests also define his judicial powers. And both in constitutional and in criminal law more Hindu influence is to be traced than in civil law. For not only was suppression of crime the main object of law in a port kingdom, but fines were a profitable source of income to ruler and chiefs. Torts also brought fees. But the movable property of peasants was still too trivial to call for any law of inheritance, and immovable property generally too valueless, and in the absence of titles too vague to be worth legal cognizance, so that, to judge from the Ninety-Nine Laws of Perak, their distribution remained a matter of local traditional custom. As for Malay marriage it is possible that until the eighteenth century it was often no more than the Hindu ceremony it is to-day minus its modern registration before the Kathi: anyhow the Muslim law of marriage and divorce is first mentioned in the Ninety-Nine Laws of Perak.

All three digests follow the precedent set by Hindu and Muslim jurists of handling such torts as trespass on lands and an owner's responsibility for damage done by his cattle to man or crop. The Malacca digest lays it down that anyone who plucks fruits in a neglected orchard is liable to pay its owner one-third of their value. It lays down the damages to be paid for setting fire accidentally to a neighbour's clearing or to his fence. It prescribes that if a buffalo tethered in a public road kills anyone, the owner has to pay the money equivalent for a life, and that, if the animal merely wounds, a fine meets the case. But if the buffalo is tethered in the jungle, the owner has only to slaughter the beast, whether

its victim is killed or wounded. The Ninety-Nine Laws of Perak lay down similar principles for damage by cattle. Slaves formed a valuable part of a man's property in the old days, and all three digests prescribe penalties for harbouring slaves and the damages to be paid for killing a slave or for the death or injury of a slave while employed by a hirer.

The most abstract legal topic in the Malacca digest is what Muslim law calls *wakāla*, the relation of principal and agent. But the Pahang digest follows the practice of Muslim lawyers in including such subjects as sales, in particular of standing crops, debts and pledges, the liability of borrowers, job-work, admissions (*ikrar*), the finding of goods on a road or in the forest, apostasy, intentional omission of obligatory prayers, and the rules of Holy War in "a transitory world which the Creator esteems so little that He leaves its riches in the hands of the infidel". To enhance the Muslim colouring of their works the Pahang jurist writes of the number and age of camels to be surrendered for blood-money, and the Perak Sayid considers the case of a camel dying in the possession of a hirer, the mention of this strange foreign animal being calculated to impress an old-world Malay audience.

Probably it was the spread of Kathis at last even to remote districts that made the compiler of Perak's Ninety-Nine Laws an innovator who introduced into his digest sections on marriage and divorce, dowries and the division of property on divorce and death, the result still being a mixture of canon and customary law. In deference to Malay custom the Shafi'i objection to the marriage of foster children is waived. In deference to Malay custom a woman on divorce takes the homestead, and when the estate of a deceased person is divided, house and garden and household furniture are allotted to the female heirs and rice-fields and mines and weapons to the male. Interesting as these sections are for the light they throw on the survival of widespread Malay tribal custom, the Ninety-Nine Laws handle marriage and divorce and the property of married couples in a scrappy and unscholarly way compared with the *Mir'at u't-tollāb* or "Mirror for Students" written by 'Abdu'r-ra'ūf of Singkel for a queen of Acheh who reigned from 1641 until 1675 or with the *Kitāb Farā'id* or "Laws of inheritance", known to the Dutch grammarian Werndly in 1736.

From medieval Malacca comes another digest compiled for its last Sultan, Maḥmūd, who bestowed titles on the two aut

Known as the Malacca Sea Laws (*Undang, Laut Mēlaka*) it was compiled in consultation with sea-captains and was used by Bugis and Macassar trading ships. It starts with a definition of the duties of a junk's officers and crew. The captain is king. The steersman is Bendahara, that is, Prime Minister. The seaman responsible for sounding and for the anchor is the ship's Temenggong, maintainer of discipline. But the discipline of a crew banded together to face the dangers of the sea was very different from the harsh rule of a cosmopolitan port. If a sailor disobeyed the boatswain, the ship's Temenggong administered seven strokes, but he was not allowed to lift his arm. A sailor who set light to ship's tackle by failing to quench his galley-fire received two strokes. A sailor who singed the anchor rope got as many strokes as there were severed strands. If cargo had to be thrown overboard in a storm, the owner of the junk had to make good the loss of capital unless he had consulted and received the assent of all on board who were partners in the venture. Other topics prescribe regulations for a ship's safety, including the provision of an opium-pipe to keep the watch awake, the shares of trade allowed to officers and crew, fares, the charges for salvage and rescues, and the penalties for mutiny, sexual offences, assaults and thefts on board. Like the *Risalat Hukum Kanun*, this maritime digest long survived, and it attracted the attention of Sir Stamford Raffles, founder of Singapore, who translated one recension. There is a much later Johore version enlarged and refined with principles pushed to ultimate conclusions in the way Muslim casuists love. The last section of this Johore version reads: if a man fish with hook and line at the bow of a vessel while at anchor, and the line is carried down towards the stern and be grasped by anyone and the fisherman mistake the resistance for the tug of a fish and pull and the person be hooked, his catch shall become his property, even if it be the captain's concubine.

The oldest Malay port regulations are dated A.D. 1650, and come from Kedah. The fixing of port fees and market prices and the standardization of weights and measures had been part of the functions of an Indian king since the time of Chandra Gupta. And these Kedah regulations closely resemble those of the Great Moguls recorded in the *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, including as they do provisions for a poll-tax on immigrants, port dues on ships from Kalinga and Gujerat, the collection by the harbour-master of money

due to trading captains, the duty payable for the import and export of slaves and for the export of tin and elephants, ships' manifests, standard weights and measures, and the reception of envoys and their missives. The Kedah jurist complacently remarks established laws encourage foreign trade, but these Kedah regulations make it clear that the trader was fleeced from the moment of his arrival until he sailed away. Presents of the cloth that formed the Indian cargoes had to be made to the Sultan, the harbour-master, the warden of the port, the police and innumerable satellites. Ships from Perak gave presents of tin slabs. In addition there were fees for counting each bale of cloth, fees for storing bales even when they were not stored, import duty to be paid on every bale, presents at opening each bale, fees for pilotage, port dues on entry and exit, fees for witnessing the sales of goods. And in A.D. 1650 there was little amusement in the port to counteract the visitor's gloom at this reception. For the regulations go on to say that gaming, cock-fighting, opium smoking, and drinking were all forbidden. Anyone feeding in public during Ramdhan was beaten or else forced to eat grass in front of the court. And at the discretion of the Raja any commoner abducting the daughter or debt-slave of another was liable to be impaled, while a nobleman got off with the Malayo-Muslim equivalent for being tarred and feathered and with being led round the port seven days running mounted on a buffalo with his face to the tail.

In his treaty with Great Britain each of the Malay rulers reserved to the Malays the interpretation of their own religion and custom. At the very outset, however, the outmoded cruelty of Muslim criminal law and the impracticability of the Muslim law of evidence along with its contradiction of the Malay custom as to circumstantial evidence made the Malay rulers glad to follow in the footsteps of Turkey and Egypt and to adopt the Indian Penal Code and a law of evidence that was a compromise between two systems they could not reconcile. Moreover even when it came to civil law Malay custom was often so vague that, in spite of the clause in all the treaties, disputed cases came *faute de mieux* before British land officers and British judges. For notwithstanding the various Malay digests the Perak State Council in 1878 had to admit "the chief court administers, *as far as it will go*, the law of the state, and this law, *though unwritten, is very generally understood*". Changes in administration were anyhow bound to leave oral tradition

panting. The registration of titles to land and the enhancement of the value of land by the pacification of anarchic states gave, for example, the division of landed property on death or divorce unprecedented importance. In theory Muslim law covered all contingencies, but though customary law had for centuries been weakened by the arbitrary decisions of Rajas with a Hindu tradition of kingship, its equitable and practical principles were too ingrained in the Malay mind to be abandoned. The peasant, for instance, refused to accept the Muhammadan view that one-eighth of her deceased husband's property was enough for the support of a widow (with a child) and gave her from one-half to a third. And it was idle for the Perak State Council in 1907 to try to compromise with Muhammadan law by applying its general principle of inheritance that a man's share is twice that of a woman to the division in divorce cases of the property acquired by a couple during marriage. The peasants often refused to admit that two-thirds should go to the man and one-third to the wife, and Kathis and headmen supported them in the witness-box. Then in 1927 the Supreme Court ruled that oral evidence on the law of the land was inadmissible. But how, then, were officials and judges to discover law not written down and only "very generally understood"? An enactment had to be passed enabling a statement to be submitted to the Ruler in Council for a decision on any moot point. This is likely to fortify Muslim law against the custom. It is possible that increase in the value of land may lead eventually to acceptance of the Muslim principle that a man should get double the woman's share, in cases when land is got and cultivated by their joint efforts, one-third of the property being ample for her support. But from villages on the Perak river there is abundant evidence that on divorce half the landed property acquired during wedlock goes even to an unfaithful wife, if she helped to cultivate it, and one-third only if she did not help, and that on a husband's death the land is similarly divided, the balance devolving on all the deceased's children irrespective of whether they are the children of his surviving widow or of a previous marriage. In Trengganu also a similar practice appears to obtain, and it would be of interest to have evidence from other Malay States.

There is one other matter in which Malay custom diverges from Muslim law. A man will charge his land to a creditor allowing him to enjoy the profits or part of the profits from its crop, such



profits not to be placed against the money owed but to be in lieu of interest, until the debt is repaid in full. Here is a clear evasion of the ban against taking interest.

Only the legal system of little matriarchal Negri Sembilan has attracted so much attention that it needs no notice here.

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## Notes on the Penetration of the Copernican Theory into China (Seventeenth-Nineteenth Centuries)

By BOLESŁAW SZCZEŚNIAK

(PLATES III-V)

THE astronomical theory of Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543) had similar difficulties in winning recognition and acceptance by the contemporary astronomers in China as it had in Europe. The conflict of the traditional astronomies of both cultures,<sup>1</sup> the contrast between the cosmologico-philosophical ideas established during many centuries and the new theory of the solar system, all that was a basis not only for scientific but also for religious disagreement. The conservative attitude of the Church, rigorously interpreted to the disadvantage of the Copernican theory, went with the Christian missionaries to China.

Padre Matteo Ricci 利瑪竇 Li Ma-t'ou,<sup>2</sup> a pioneer of Christian missions in China (1582-1610), having realized the great importance played by astronomy in the political and cultural life of the Chinese, chose the teaching of astronomy according to European principles, as a way to get entry into court circles. He arrived in China during a period marked by the decline of astronomical knowledge in that country, which after the end (1368) of the Mongolian Yuan dynasty was in great need of qualified astronomers and Western scholars. The instruments built (1279)<sup>3</sup> by the Mongolian Emperor Shih Tsu 也祖 (Kublai Khan), with the help of Western astronomers, were by that time more a symbol of past greatness than a useful means of scientific studies for the Peking Observatory.

Matteo Ricci in his letters sent to the Jesuits in Rome mentioned two astronomo-mathematical colleges, in Peking and in Nankin. Especially the astronomical instruments at the Nankin College constructed in the time of Kublai Khan, evoked his admiration. Before going to Peking he wrote that on the terrace of the Nankin observatory . . . "are to be seen astronomical instruments of cast metal, well worthy of inspection, whether for size or for beauty, and we certainly have never seen or read of anything in Europe like them. For nearly 250 years they have stood thus exposed to

<sup>1</sup> *The Penetration of the Copernican Theory into Feudal Japan*, by B. Szcześniak.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard Henri, S.J., *Matteo Ricci's Scientific Contribution to China*.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Wylie, *The Mongol Astronomical Instruments*.



PROTOTYPE OF COPERNICAN ICONOGRAPHY IN CHINA.

Early woodcut-print of Nicolaus Copernicus (Mikołaj Kopernik),  
Jagiellonian Library Collection, Cracow.



the rain, the snow, and all other atmospheric inclemencies, and yet they have lost absolutely nothing of their original lustre".<sup>1</sup>

Afterwards, in 1601, he saw identical instruments in Peking, proof of a great astronomical reform started by the Emperor Kublai Khan, and although the reform proved abortive, it presented a sufficient basis for the Jesuits to work on. The introduction of the Copernican heliocentric system in Peking might have given an impulse to astronomical research that in Chinese conditions could have been crowned by far-reaching success. But this immense opportunity for scientific work along the lines of the modern Copernican theory was lost, and not until the second half of the eighteenth century did the theory find open recognition.

When the Emperor Wan Li 萬曆 ordered the compilation of a new State Calendar, a work which had also occupied the minds of his predecessors from the Ming 大明 dynasty, the task proved to be beyond the powers of contemporary Chinese astronomers. So an ideal opportunity opened itself for European missionaries to combine usefulness in the Emperor's astronomical observatory with the spreading of Christianity among the court officials and even the Emperor's family.

In fact Padre Matteo Ricci and his successors became the Emperor's chief astronomers at the Observatory of the Imperial Board of Astronomy, Ch'in-t'ien-chien 欽天監.

They acted in this capacity for a long period in spite of the numerous difficulties they had to meet so far as the teaching of the Christian faith was concerned. A great number of Jesuit astronomers such as fathers <sup>2</sup> Sabatin de Ursis (1606-1617), Jacobus Rho (1624-1638), Joannes Adamus Schall von Bell (1622-1666), Ferdinandus Verbiest (1660-1688),<sup>3</sup> and many others during two centuries of work in the Peking Observatory acquired outstanding merit in the development of Western cultural influence in China; though the Copernican conflict had perhaps an even more tragic history in China than in Europe, because it lasted until the end of the eighteenth century.

It took place in a country where a knowledge of astronomy had

<sup>1</sup> *M. Ricci Opere storiche*, vol. 1, p. 317, quoted after Bernard Henri, *M. Ricci's Contribution . . .*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> In Chinese: Hsiung San-pa 熊三板; Lo Ya-ko 羅雅各; T'ang Yowang 湯若望; Nan Huai-jên 南懷仁.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide etiam*: Couplet's *Catalogus patrum . . .*.

the best possibilities of development, and could be applied to social life. The old erroneous Ptolemaic theory of the world existed for another two hundred years in the country of the oldest culture, and yet in spite of China's adherence to the heliocentric system the work of great missionaries made a real science of astronomy which before their time had been a subject of astrological speculation.

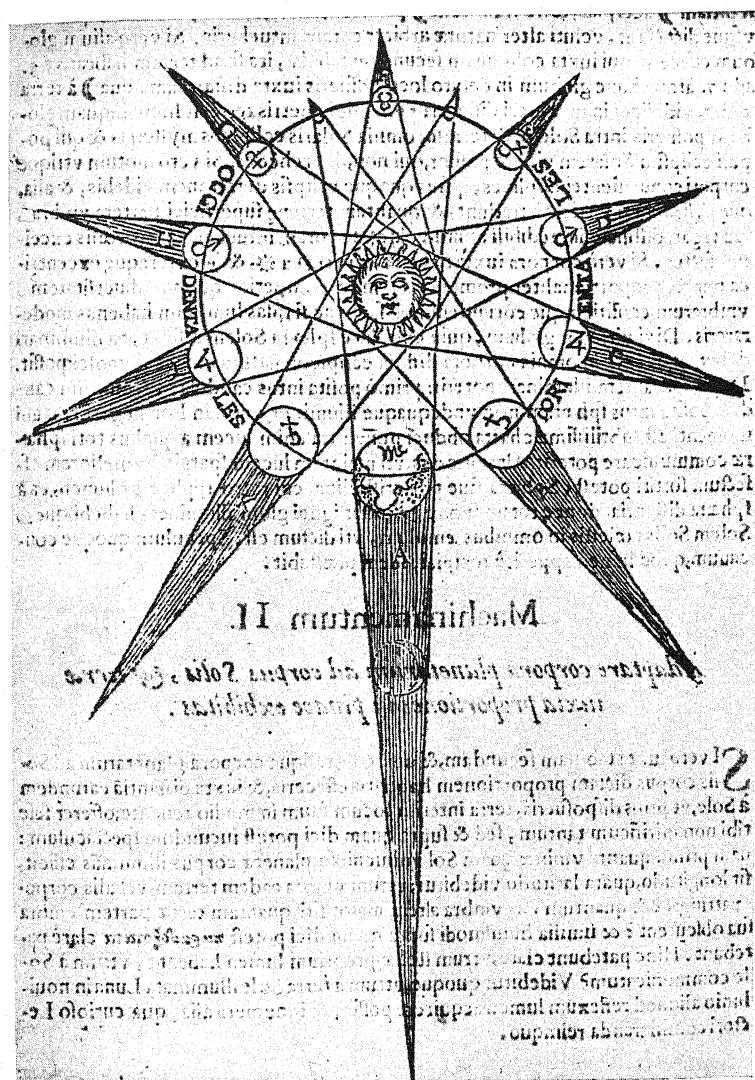
From the first European mathematical and astronomical science was introduced in a practical way, by applying it to the work of the observatory and theoretically by translations of European handbooks and by the education of the Chinese students. Looking at these efforts we have to bear in mind the great development after the Alexandrine period of the Ptolemaic classical system with all its limitations, and only then can we realize what sort of difficulties must have been faced by missionary scientists in spreading the classical astronomy of the old Greco-Latin world in the cultural conditions of China. By that time a contrast can be noticed between the continued support of the classical astronomy by European exponents in China, and the knowledge of astronomy in Europe.

In the eighteenth century the majority of the Western scientists accepted the heliocentric system and so did some of the Jesuits. A prominent polyhistor and mathematician, professor of the Jesuit College in Rome, Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680) seemed to accept in his book *Ars magna lucis et umbrae*, the superiority of the Copernican theory as a result of his calculations. He even recommended a way to understand the solar system by building a cosmometric instrument: *Haec sphaera melius construi posset, iuxta systema Copernici. Fiat igitur in aula quapiam amplissima sphaera, iuxta systema Copernici, hoc enim machinationi nostrae maxime aptum reperi.*<sup>1</sup> Kircher's work was used in the Jesuit Colleges as an encyclopædic handbook of Astronomy and Physics. But at the same time in China books were being written by missionaries to explain systematically the traditional Ptolemaic astronomy.

In 1611 Sabatin de Ursis produced 簡平儀說 Kien-pein-ni-shuo, or "An Elementary Explanation of Astronomical Instruments". This gave a general description of astronomical instruments with orthographic representation of the heavens. The book as a whole was based on tacit admission of the Ptolemaic theory.<sup>2</sup> In 1614 Emanuel Diaz, Jr. (陽瑪諾 Yan Ma-no), wrote a book with

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 766, first ed., 1646, *vide etiam*, p. 746 et seq.

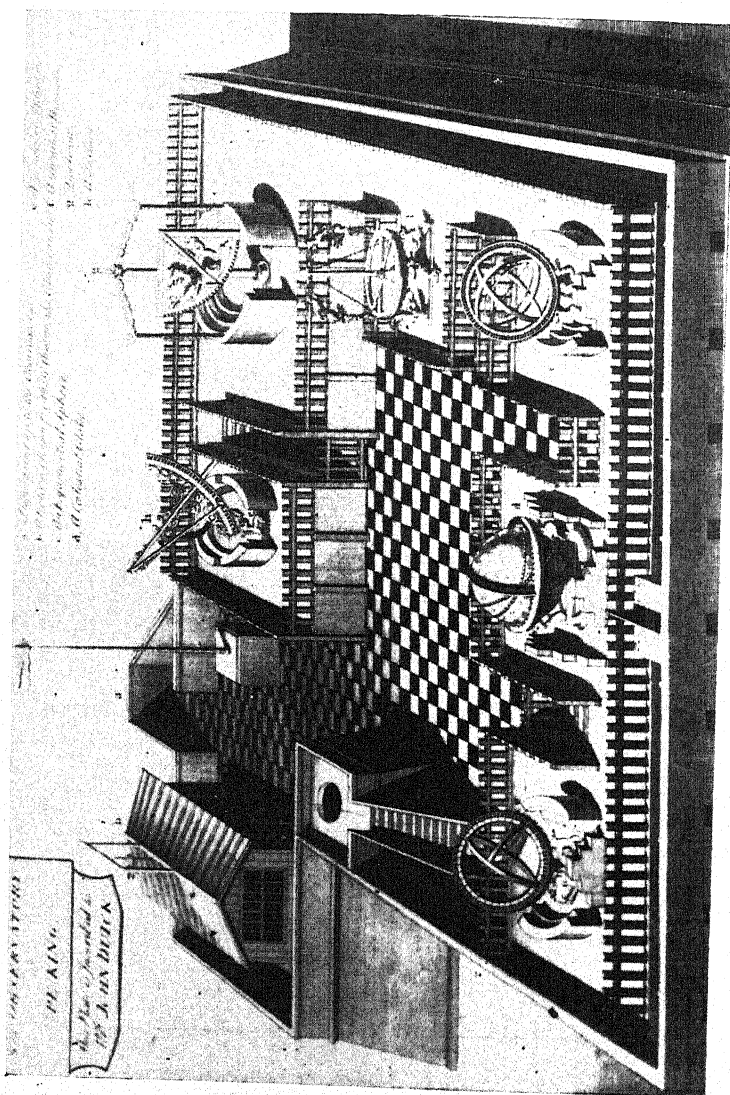
<sup>2</sup> A. Wylie, op. cit., p. 108.



TEXT ILLUSTRATION FROM: A. KIRCHER, ARS MAGNA LUCIS ET  
UMBRAE, p. 766, ROMA, 1646.

The solar system according to the Copernican theory is explained.





THE ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATORY AT PEKIN.

From the J. B. Du Halde's *A Description of the Empire of China and Chinese-Tartary*,  
London, 1741, vol. ii, p. 138.

various diagrams explaining astronomy according to Galileo's observations (仍離畧 Ka-li-leo) with the title 天間畧 Ten-wan-leo.

Next in 1634 there appeared a bulky compilation in 100 volumes (chuan) with the title 新法算書 Shin-fa-suan-shu, or the Book of the New Method of Mathematics, written by Chinese missionary students Li Chi-tsao 李之藻 and Li Ten-ching 李天經, with contributions by missionaries like Nicholas Longobardi 龍華民 (Lung Hua-ming), John Terence 鄧王函 (T'ang Yu-han), James Rho, and John Adam von Shall, who were working in the Imperial Board of Astronomy. The Emperor himself asked them to produce this profoundly informative and useful book. There was an appendix by Father Shall in two parts consisting of biographical notes on European astronomers, and an elucidation of the new and old system of chronology. The traditional Ptolemaic system was still adhered to as a basis for all these explanations. Nicolaus Copernicus (歌白泥 Ko-pe-ni), Tycho Brahe (弟谷 Te-kuh), John Kepler (刻白爾 Ke-pe-eh) are frequently mentioned by name in connection with their labours, and there are slight allusions to the systems that have received their designations from these astronomers. The authors intentionally avoided calling the attention of Chinese students to the new theory of Copernicus. The work was originally named 崇禎歷書 Ts'ung-ching-leih-shu, or the Calendar of the Emperor Ts'ung Chin, but the title was afterwards changed as the character 禎 formed part of the Emperor's name during the Kiang-he period. It has been republished with the title 西洋法新書 Si-yang-fa-sin-shu, or "The New Book of the Western Method".

The Polish Jesuits in the middle of the seventeenth century were in favour of introducing the Copernican solar system in China. Nationalism may have influenced their attitude. Michael Boim (1612-1659, Pu Mi-ko 卜彌格), as a Professor of St. Joseph College in Macao, sent in 1646 to the Observatory in Peking the *Tabulae Rudolphinae* of Tycho Brahe, edited by Joannes Kepler, and wrote on the title-page the pseudonym Miguel Polaco. He advised their use in the Observatory, "since it is unique, and of inestimable value in calculating partial and complete solar eclipse together with celestial movements."<sup>1</sup> Another father, Joannes Nicolaus

<sup>1</sup> Vide B. Szcześniak, op. cit., in *Journal of R.A.S.*, April, 1944, p. 60, and *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. ii, No. 1, p. 131, article of J. Laures, S.J.

Smogolecki<sup>1</sup>: Mu Ne-ko 穆尼各, taught Copernican astronomy in Nanking.<sup>2</sup> About 1645 his pupil Se Fung-tso 薛鳳祚 wrote a small treatise, T'en-po-chin-yuen 天步真原, on the calculation of eclipses according to the European method. This is the first book in which logarithms are introduced. The 天學會通 T'en-he-hui-t'ung is another work by Fung-tso, in which he attempts to harmonize the old Chinese system with the recent European. He reduces all the numbers of the new sexagesimal gradation to their equivalent in the centesimal calculus. The first part contains the theory of the calculation of eclipses, which is followed by examples of the different methods, native and foreign.<sup>3</sup>

Chinese pupils learnt a lot from the missionaries and acquired a considerable amount of knowledge in the field of astronomy and mathematics. However their learning did not exceed the limits of the pre-Copernican period. But as far as arithmetic, algebra, and trigonometry were concerned they were often on a level with contemporary European science. In this regard a Frenchman, Father Pierre Jartoux,<sup>3</sup> rendered an outstanding service. Also in the middle of the eighteenth century interest in the history of the old national learning in mathematics was revived. Many prominent Chinese scholars devoted themselves to this study.<sup>4</sup>

The beginning of the nineteenth century was marked by really intense study of the Copernican system. It was due mostly to the work of English and American missionaries, both Catholics and Protestants. Chinese students were in close scientific collaboration with the newcomers from the West. A start on a large scale was given to the study of modern mathematics, accompanied by translations into Chinese of various books on astronomy, surgery, medicine, etc. The most outstanding British missionaries of the nineteenth century who contributed to the culture of modern China were:—

Joseph Edkins (1823–1905; 艾約瑟),  
 Alexander Williamson (1829–1890; 韋廉臣),  
 Alexander Wylie (1875–1887; 威烈亞力),  
 John Freyer (1839–1917; 傅蘭雅),

<sup>1</sup> Vide A. Wylie, *Notes . . .*, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Vide etiam A. Couplet, *Catalogus patrum . . .*, pp. 118–119.

<sup>3</sup> His investigations in astronomy are in: *Observationes macularum solarium Pekino missae*; in French edition under the title *Observations astronomique*, Paris, 1722, also translated in Chinese in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> Vide Yoshio Mikami, *History of Mathematics . . .*

Dr. Benjamin Hobson (1816-1873), and  
William Alexander Parsons Martin (1827-1916), American.

Dr. B. Hobson published in 1849 a popular digest of modern European astronomy with the title Tien-wan-lo-hun or "The Introduction to Astronomy" (天文略論). This gives a plain view of the solar system referring to the motion of the orbs and the influence of gravitation, and pointing to God as the author of all the stupendous works of creation.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander Wylie, mathematician and noted scholar in Chinese literature, translated in 1852 in 18 chuan F. W. Herschel's (1792-1871) "The Outlines of Astronomy" (How Shi-loh 侯失勒), and republished it in Shanghai (1859) with the same title 談天 (Tan-tien) in nineteen volumes (chuan) with the help of Li Shan-lan 李善蘭. Li (1869-1882)<sup>2</sup> afterwards was professor in T'ung-wen-kuan College (1869-1882) teaching modern Copernican astronomy. After 1855 Li and Wylie translated many European books on mathematics. About 1860 Li Shan-lan joined the staff of the governor of Kiangsu, Hsü Yu-jen (徐有壬), and about 1863 the famous staff for translating foreign books on Chinese that was under the protection of the viceroy Tseng Kuo-fan 曾國藩 in Nanking.<sup>3</sup> That committee has well deserved fame for its good translations of foreign books, including some about modern astronomy. Many astronomical terms employed by Li in his translations, and in his lectures on astronomy in Tung-wen-kuan, are still in use.

John Fryer was director of the famous Kiangnan Arsenal 江南製造局 after 1868. He encouraged, helped, and gathered together many Chinese students of mathematics. In 1876 J. Fryer started a monthly publication known as Ko-chih Huei-pien 格致彙編, or "The Chinese Scientific and Industrial Magazine". The Kiangsu Arsenal, under the protection of Viceroy Tseng Kuo-fan, had been recently (1862) turned into a department for the translation of foreign books with the help of missionary scholars and their Chinese students. It was a kind of practical studies academy.

Prominent modern Chinese mathematicians and students of Copernican theory worked in Kiangsu Arsenal and other places, or in the newly established college Tung-wen-kuan. Hua Heng-fang

<sup>1</sup> A. Wylie, op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Eminent Chinese*, pp. 479-480.

<sup>3</sup> Vide A. Wylie, *An Account of the Department for Foreign Books*. . . .

(華衡芳, 1833-1902) collaborated with J. Fryer. Hsü Shou (徐壽, 1818-1884) and his son Hsü Chien-yin (徐建寅, 1845-1901) worked with other missionaries. In his last ten years Lo Shih-lin (羅士琳, c. 1770-1853) collaborated and studied with foreign scholars and especially with A. Wylie.

W. A. P. Martin, American, who was a President of T'ung Wen College (1869-1882), very usefully collaborated in the field of modern astronomy with Li Shan-lan, professor of astronomy and great Chinese Copernican.

In 1847 the Jesuits established a centre of their scientific activities in Tsikawei 徐家進, near Shanghai 上海. According to their tradition the main subjects covered were astronomy, mathematics, and meteorological observations, as well as sinological studies. In 1873 the observatory equipped with good modern instruments started work, basing it on the theory on the heliocentric system founded by Nicolaus Copernicus. To-day it is the only great observatory in China directed by modern European astronomers.

There seems to be no doubt that the Jesuits in China accepted the superiority of the Copernican system, though they did not proclaim it openly. Tactical reasons did not allow them to declare themselves suddenly in favour of the new theory. The more so because the Copernican doctrine was in conflict with traditional Chinese science that made the earth the centre of the universe. This point provided a mutual base of collaboration between Chinese and European astronomers in Peking. A sudden rupture with the traditional philosophy and science of China by substituting for it the heliocentric system would have encountered a violent resistance, and might have caused additional difficulties in spreading Christianity. Even in Europe a quasi-revolution was caused by Copernicus. In these circumstances the Ptolemaic theory was certainly more opportune, and the solar one would have had no practical advantages. The prediction of solar eclipses and the calculation of the Calendar could be sufficiently exact by the use of the old Greek theory. The Copernican theory also required proper cultural conditions, and one could hardly say if they existed in China. An interesting observation which would confirm my opinion about Chinese culture being unfavourable to the spreading of new solar astronomy can be found in an essay by an American mathematician Benjamin Ginsburg "The Scientific Value of Copernican Induction".



"Inasmuch as we have traced the failings of Ptolemaic and Greek astronomy in general to a cultural cause, it is obvious that the successful promulgation of the Copernican reform—taken to include both the annunciation of the doctrine and its acceptance by the intellectual world—must similarly be attributed to cultural conditions. It would be easy . . . to show that the Copernican approach (in so far as it differed from the approach of the Alexandrine astronomers) was made possible by the separation of the study of astronomy from metaphysical and theological questions."

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A very rare first edition copy is in British Museum (press mark: 530 d. 22). New editions in Shanghai 1873, 1892, by A. Pfister.

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5. Harp (*jank*). From a Mesopotamian candle-stick (thirteenth cent.). Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

# The Music of *The Arabian Nights*

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(PLATES VI AND VII.)

(Continued from p. 185, October, 1944.)

## PART II

### § IV

#### THE INSTRUMENTS OF THE MUSIC

In the *Nights* the instrument of music is generally referred to as the *ālat al-ṭarab* or *ālat al-malāḥī*. The types mentioned are fairly considerable, although in most instances the mere name occurs. In the case of the *‘ūd* (lute), however, certain subsidiary details occur incidentally which are of value.

These instruments of the *Nights* can be grouped as follows:—

Stringed Instruments: *‘ūd*, *ṭunbūr*, *jank*, *qānūn*, and *sinṭir*.

Wind Instruments: *nāy*, *shabbāba*, *nāy tatarī*, *zamr* or *mizmār*, *būq*, *naḥr*, and *ālat al-zamr*.

Vibrating Membranes: *duff*, *tār*, *darbukka*, *ṭabl*, and *kūs*.

Sonorous Substances: *kāsāt* (*ku’ūs*), *jalājīl*, *ajrās*, *qalāqīl*, *khalākhīl*, *nāqūs*, and *qāḍīb*.

The *‘ūd* (pl. *‘ūdān*) or lute was, and always has been, the instrument *par excellence* amongst the Arabs. Three kinds are mentioned in the *Nights*—the *‘ūd ‘irāqī*, the *‘ūd jilliqī*, and the *‘ūd min ṣan’ al-hunūd*. Yet it is doubtful whether these names refer to distinctive types. It is more likely that they are fanciful additions made by *rāwī* or *kātib* to embellish the story. Indeed the *nisba* which betokens the provenance of the instrument only occurs in the Būlāq text,<sup>1</sup> and not in that of Calcutta<sup>2</sup> or Beyrout.<sup>3</sup>

The *‘ūd ‘irāqī* (Irāqian lute) may have a *raison d’être* since Al-‘Irāq was considered the home of the Arabian lute,<sup>4</sup> and even in the fourteenth century the Persian poet Nizāmī said in his *Sikandar nāma*, when praising the craftsmen of the world, “Al-‘Irāq sends the sweetest lutes.”<sup>5</sup>

The *‘ūd jilliqī*<sup>6</sup> (Damascus lute) is an uncertainty. Since even the identification of Jilliḳ with Damascus is doubtful, and at best is only a poetic licence, we cannot place much reliance on the

<sup>1</sup> i, 27 (i, 83).

<sup>2</sup> i, 55.

<sup>3</sup> Delhi edit., ii, 198.

<sup>4</sup> i, 67.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī, op. cit., viii, 93.

<sup>6</sup> i, 372 (i, 395).

'ūd jilliḡī, unless the name preserves the old barbiton or mandore called the *barbaṭ* which was used by the old Ghassānids of this region.<sup>1</sup>

As for the 'ūd *min ṣan' al-hunūd*<sup>2</sup> (Lute of Indian make), the incertitude of its existence is strengthened by the fact that the lute had long fallen into desuetude in India.<sup>3</sup> Of course it might have been an instrument made in Baghdād by Indian artisans, as one reference reads,<sup>4</sup> but other passages, such as "a lute of the handicraft of the land of the Indians",<sup>5</sup> seem to point to India itself. One can only suppose that the *nisba* of provenance was due to the needs of the *rāwī* who frequently had a cosmopolitan audience to entertain, and also to the circumstance that in his recitals the comparative and superlative were part of his stock in trade, since it was by such means that he could stretch the imagination of his auditors, and later ease their pockets also.

I have already dealt with the history of the Arabian lute elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> but the *Nights* supply us with additional information which deserves attention. As with most stringed instruments, age improves the *timbre* of the lute, and when we read in the *Nights* about a "well-worn lute" ('ūd *maḥkūk*)<sup>7</sup> or an "abraded lute" ('ūd *majrūd*),<sup>8</sup> we can be fairly sure that an old but well-mellowed instrument is meant.

On another occasion we find a rather ornately garnished lute inlaid with pearls and hyacinths, and fitted with tuning-pegs (*malāwī*) made of gold.<sup>9</sup> It must have been an instrument of this class that Abū Ishāq [Ibrāhīm al-Mausilī] al-Nadīm used, since it had features which made it easily recognizable at a distance.<sup>10</sup> *Malāwī* (sing. *milwā*) is the recognized Arabic name for the tuning-pegs, but we find the phrase شددت طرفه<sup>11</sup> ("screwed up its sides": Burton)<sup>12</sup> also used, but this last word seems to be a copyist's error for ملاويه. They are sometimes called *ādhān* (ears), but this is rare. We also have a lute with verses carved or painted (*manqūsh*) thereon,<sup>13</sup> a fashion of which we read in the *Aghānī*.

One story deserves special attention because of its utter

<sup>1</sup> *Aghānī*, xvi, 15.

<sup>2</sup> *JAOS.*, 50, 253.

<sup>3</sup> ii, 83 (ii, 459).

<sup>4</sup> ii, 536 (iii, 325).

<sup>5</sup> iv, 522 (vi, 10).

<sup>6</sup> ii, 437; xix, 136.

<sup>7</sup> ii, 536 (iii, 325).

<sup>2</sup> ii, 259 (iii, 105).

<sup>4</sup> ii, 163 (iii, 16).

<sup>6</sup> *Ency. of Islām*, iv, 985.

<sup>8</sup> iv, 326 (v, 294).

<sup>10</sup> i, 305 (i, 337).

<sup>12</sup> Burton, iii, 240.

impossibility, although within it is enshrined one of those precious conceits in which the Arabs delight to indulge. It occurs in the story of '*Alī Nūr al-Dīn and Maryam the Girdle Girl*, where a slave-girl opens a lute bag and shakes therefrom *thirty-two* pieces of wood (*khushb*) which, when fitted (*rakkab*) together, became a lute ready for use.<sup>1</sup> We read of a similar, but much simpler, performance elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> where *one* piece of wood (*khashaba*) has strings mounted upon it and is played forthwith, a proceeding which is quite possible, whereas the two and thirty pieces mentioned in the *Nights* is rather a long bow to draw. Yet perhaps the circumstance is explicable.

The Arabs were firm believers in the "theory of numbers" and *thirty-two* had a special significance in their scheme of "the four-fold things". Indeed the verses which follow the episode of the thirty-two pieces specifically mention "the four-fold things". In the series of continued geometrical proportions—2:4:8:16:32:64, we see what these particular numbers meant in the system, and lute makers themselves held strong views on what they termed "the most excellent proportions".<sup>3</sup> If the depth of the lute was 4, then the breadth was 8 and the length 16. Even the makers of lute strings were influenced by the magic of numbers when they made the four strings, from low to high, of 64, 32, 24, and 16 strands respectively.<sup>4</sup> We can therefore appreciate why the lute in the *Nights* was constructed of *thirty-two* pieces of wood, although we can scarcely be expected to believe that these were detachable and capable of being fitted together *presto* so as to produce an instrument "ready armed" (*musallah*) as one sometimes hears an Arab lutenist say.<sup>5</sup> Yet the story illustrates the argument that the *rāwī*, knowing of the occult value of *thirty-two*, gave this number to the pieces of the lute so as to create wonderment in his audience by verbal jugglery.<sup>6</sup>

The bag in which this wonderful lute was kept also deserves attention because we read so little about the encasement of instru-

<sup>1</sup> iv, 326 (v, 294).

<sup>2</sup> *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, i, 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 98.

<sup>4</sup> *Kanz al-tuhaf*, B.M. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 261v.

<sup>5</sup> This bellicose phrase reminds us of a story of Iṣḥāq al-Mausili who, passing a man carving a lute, said, "For whom are you whetting this sword?" *Al-'iqd al-farīd*, iii, 206.

<sup>6</sup> We often see the enticement of numbers, but the three hundred and sixty female slaves (the number of days in the Coptic year) of 'Umar ibn al-Nu'mān disarms all criticism. i, 353 (i, 377).



ments from Arabic sources, although one recalls that Tuwais, the earliest minstrel of Islāmic days, kept his tambourine (*duff*) in a bag.<sup>1</sup> The bag alluded to in the preceding story was made of green silk-satin with golden brocade, but we also read of other designs. One of these was of red satin with tassels of safron-coloured silk,<sup>2</sup> whilst another, also of satin, had green fringes and tassels of gold stuff.<sup>3</sup>

The strings (*awtār*) of the lute are frequently spoken of in the *Nights*, but nowhere is the actual number mentioned. Once there is an allusion to the "Persian string",<sup>4</sup> which, we may presume, refers to the *zīr* or highest string, the word, which is Persian, signifying "high, shrill". Yet four strings are congenial to the conceit of the "four-fold things" dealt with in the story of *Alī Nūr al-Dīn and Maryam the Girdle-girl*.<sup>5</sup>

As I have frequently shown<sup>6</sup> the strings of the lute in the early days of Islām, i.e. from the eighth to the tenth century, were four in number. Later, five and six strings were the rule, the latter being introduced not earlier than the fifteenth century. That being so, the period of the stories in the *Nights* ought to determine the string mounting of the instrument. This has not been taken into consideration by Lane's pictorial artists. The best design of the lute by the latter is the tailpiece to the *Story of Nūr al-Dīn and Anīs al-jalīs* where a six- or seven-stringed instrument is depicted.<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere in the same story an eight-stringed instrument is shown.<sup>8</sup> In the *Story of Ibn Maṣṣūr and the Lady Budūr* it is delineated with five strings,<sup>9</sup> whilst in the *Story of the Porter and the Three Ladies of Baghdād* it has six strings.<sup>10</sup> As all these stories are set in scenes which belong to the eighth to tenth centuries, the lute ought to have been shown with four or, at most, five strings. Of course the very structure of the lutes drawn by Lane's artists reveal that they were all based on the design given in his *Modern Egyptians*.<sup>11</sup>

Another question worthy of consideration is the method of holding the lute. Both Lane and Burton say that the instrument was placed in the lap,<sup>12</sup> whereas the *Nights* say quite definitely that it was placed in the bosom (*ḥijr*,<sup>13</sup> *ḥiḍn*<sup>14</sup>), which, as I shall show,

<sup>1</sup> *Al-ʿiqd al-farīd*, iii, 186.

<sup>2</sup> ii, 536 (iii, 325).

<sup>3</sup> i, 69 (i, 85).

<sup>4</sup> iv, 173 (v, 191).

<sup>5</sup> iv, 263 (v, 295).

<sup>6</sup> Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, ii, 45; *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor*, 25.

<sup>7</sup> i, 429.

<sup>8</sup> i, 421.

<sup>9</sup> ii, 434.

<sup>10</sup> i, 130.

<sup>11</sup> 361.

<sup>12</sup> Lane, ii, 343; Burton, iii, 16.

<sup>13</sup> ii, 163.

<sup>14</sup> iv, 264.

was the conventional position. It was held horizontally or with the sound-chest higher than the peg-box, the latter position only being conveniently possible when the sound-chest was in the bosom. This latter method also enabled the performer to see the fingers of the left hand in performance.

Lane's artists depict the lute with the sound-chest in the lap of the player, and the neck in an oblique direction at the performer's shoulder, in precisely the same position as we see it in his *Modern Egyptians*.<sup>1</sup> We have the fairly reliable evidence of iconography that it was only in Egypt and Spain that this latter method of holding the lute was practised, whereas in Al-'Irāq, Al-Yaman, and Syria it was the former method which obtained, and it is the way in which the instrument was held in the stories in the *Nights* which we have mentioned.<sup>2</sup> Indeed we are told that the performer "leaned over it as a mother would lean over her child", a position scarcely in keeping with that shown by Lane's artists, but quite compatible with the 'Irāqī method and an 'Irāqī story.

The *ṭunbūr* (pl. *ṭanābīr*) or pandore, was a sort of long-necked lute, but with a smaller sound-chest. It was not generally favoured by the Arabs and was actually more popular in Persia, Al-Raiy, Ṭabaristān, and Al-Dailam. The above circumstance may account for the fact that the *ṭunbūr* is only mentioned once in the *Nights* and even then in connection with a Persian. It is one of the many whimsical things which the amusing 'Alī claims to have had in his comprehensive bag as told in the *Story of 'Alī the Persian*.<sup>3</sup>

Lane does not depict the normal pandore. What he shows in the scene of the bridal festivities in the *Story of Ma'rūf*<sup>4</sup> is a very large instrument, somewhat of the dimensions of the modern *ṭunbūr buzurk*. For the normal pandore of the period see my *Sources of Arabian Music*.<sup>5</sup>

The *jank* (pl. *junūk*) or *ṣanj* (pl. *ṣunūj*) was a harp with an upper sound-chest. In the *Nights* it is twice called the *jank 'ajamī* (Persian harp), probably because of its original provenance. Actually the name *jank* is but an Arabicized version of the Persian *chang*. On the other hand, the name may have arisen from the necessity of

<sup>1</sup> p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> For the two methods respectively see Arnold, *Legacy of Islām*, fig. 89, and Farmer, *Sources*, pl. 2.

<sup>3</sup> ii, 179 (iii, 30).

<sup>4</sup> iii, 364.

<sup>5</sup> Frontispiece.

distinguishing it from the *jank miṣrī* (Egyptian harp) which differed from the former in having a wooden face on the sound-chest instead of a membrane one. Both types and their names were used in Egypt in the fifteenth century, and the above qualifying *nisbas* are not traceable earlier than this.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Tale of King 'Umar ibn al-Nu'mān and his Sons*,<sup>2</sup> who is claimed to have ruled "the City of Peace [Baghdād] before the Khalifate of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān" ! the *jank 'ajamī* occurs with the *'ūd jillikī* (Damascus lute), the *nāy tatarī* (Tartar flute), and the *qānūn miṣrī* (Egyptian psaltery), a combination which would certainly place the story later than the thirteenth century. Again in the story of *The Porter and the Three Ladies of Baghdad*<sup>3</sup> it is found with the *'ūd* and the *duff* (tambourine). This story deals with the days of Khalif Hārūn (d. 809) and the introduction of the *jank* at such a period is an anachronism. Even its appearance in the story of *Abu'l-Ḥasan of Khurasān*, the scene of which is set in the time of Khalif Al-Mu'taḍid (d. 902), is suspect, although, being a Khurasanian, Abu'l-Ḥasan may have had a special fondness for such an instrument.<sup>4</sup> The *jank* again displays itself, with the *sinṭūr* (dulcimer or psaltery), in the Persian tinted *Story of Jānshāh*, which is certainly of late date.<sup>5</sup>

Lane furnishes a fairly good design of the instrument in one of the illustrations to the second of the tales mentioned.<sup>6</sup> He also includes two cuts taken from [Persian ?] manuscripts of the mid-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries supplied by Sir Gore Ouseley, the latter saying that the strings on the *jank* vary in number from twenty to twenty-seven,<sup>7</sup> a statement which does not conform with Arabic or Persian theorists of music.

The *qānūn* (pl. *qawānīn*), or psaltery, has a history with the Arabs as far back as the tenth century, although it was not generally accepted until much later, and certainly not with this name. It presents itself several times in the *Nights*. In the *Tale of 'Alī ibn Bakkār and Shams al-Nahar*, a ninth century scene, we are told

<sup>1</sup> *Kashf al-humūm*, Cairo MS., fol. 145.

<sup>2</sup> i, 372 (i, 395).

<sup>3</sup> i, 67 (i, 83).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Al-Mas'ūdī, viii, 91.

<sup>5</sup> ii, 654 (iii, 428). The " harps " mentioned by Burton (i, 469) is not traceable in any of the texts. The *'ūd* is mentioned in the Būlāq text (i, 180).

<sup>6</sup> i, 127.

<sup>7</sup> i, 204-5.

that the Commander of the Faithful was so grieved at the death of Shams al-Nahar that he commanded the destruction of "all vessels and psalteries (*qawānīn*) and other instruments of diversion (*malāhī*) and music (*tarab*) which were in the room".<sup>1</sup> In the *Būlāq* text the word is certainly *qawānīn*,<sup>2</sup> and it is the early edition of this which has been followed by Lane,<sup>3</sup> and Burton.<sup>4</sup> Yet the Calcutta text has *ʿidān* (lutes),<sup>5</sup> which is the more likely word. Throughout the story it is the *ʿūd* (lute) only that is mentioned, and there seems to be no reason therefore why, at the last moment, the *qānūn* should be introduced in this way. The most acceptable explanation of the use of the word *qawānīn* in the *Būlāq* text is that it was a copyist's slip due to his eye being momentarily impressed by the form of the preceding word in the phrase الاولاني والعيان. There is certainly no other evidence of the use of a musical instrument called the *qānūn* in the ninth century.<sup>6</sup>

Its appearance in the *Tale of King ʿUmar ibn al-Nuʿmān and his Sons*,<sup>7</sup> who is claimed to have lived even earlier, is undoubtedly an anachronism. Here it is called, when first mentioned, the *qānūn miṣrī* (Egyptian psaltery), but when we observe that it is accompanied by the *ʿūd jilliḡī* (Damascus lute), the *jank ʿajamī* (Persian harp), and the *nāy tatarī* (Tartar flute), we can, perhaps, appreciate the reason for the adjective of provenance in the *qānūn miṣrī*.

Lane has supplied a note on the *qānūn*,<sup>8</sup> and his artists have limned it,<sup>9</sup> both contributions being based on the Egyptian instrument so fully described and shown by Lane himself in his *Modern Egyptians*,<sup>10</sup> which scarcely helps us to discern the instrument of the period of the *Nights*. Again it has to be objected that the method of playing the instrument, as shown by his artists, does not comport with history and iconography. The practice of holding the *qānūn* in a horizontal position in playing with the strings uppermost, as delineated by Lane's artists, is quite a modern departure. From the twelfth<sup>11</sup> to the fifteenth century<sup>12</sup> we know positively that the psaltery of the Arabs was held vertically with the back (*zahr*) of the instrument resting against the player's chest,

<sup>1</sup> A variation of Burton's translation.

<sup>2</sup> i, 326.      <sup>3</sup> ii, 46.      <sup>4</sup> ii, 306.      <sup>5</sup> i, 810.

<sup>6</sup> See my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, 9.

<sup>7</sup> i, 372 (i, 395); i, 375 (i, 398).

<sup>8</sup> ii, 67.      <sup>9</sup> i, 360; ii, 69.      <sup>10</sup> 360.

<sup>11</sup> Bronze bowl (thirteenth century), Victoria and Albert Museum.

<sup>12</sup> *Kashf al-humūm*. See my *Sources of Arabian Music*, pl. 5.

and it was played with one hand. This was the position which Europe adopted from the Arabs when it borrowed the *qānūn* from them as the *canon*.<sup>1</sup>

The *sinṭūr* (pl. *sanāṭīra*) was generally a dulcimer but sometimes a psaltery. This we know in the fifteenth century, when what was known in Egypt as the *qānūn* was called in Syria the *sinṭūr*.<sup>2</sup> Indeed the *sinṭūr* was but a kind of psaltery played horizontally with beating rods instead of vertically with a plectrum.<sup>3</sup> Even in the eighteenth century both words were used for the same instrument.<sup>4</sup> Yet that they were generally quite distinct from each other is shown by their mention in Egypt in 1520 when both the *qānūn* and *sinṭūr* (sic) are quoted together by Ibn Iyās.<sup>5</sup> The history of the instrument has been dealt with elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>

The *sinṭūr* only shows itself once in the *Nights* where, with the *jank* and other instruments, it is used to entertain the love-sick Prince in the *Story of Jānshāh*.<sup>7</sup>

The *nāy* (pl. *nāyāt*) was a flute, and the name, which is Persian, came into use in the early days of Islām when it superseded the older Arabic name of *quṣṣāba*.<sup>8</sup> It manifests itself but twice in the *Nights*, once in *The Loves of Abū 'Isā and Qurrat al-'Ain* in company with the 'ūd,<sup>9</sup> and again in the amusing wallet of the funster in the *Story of 'Alī the Persian*, where the *ṭunbūr* is its companion.<sup>10</sup>

The *shabbāba*<sup>11</sup> (pl. *shabbābāt*) was a fife or small flute. It is given prominence in the story of *Khalīfa the Fisherman of Baghdād*, where that delectable singing-girl Qūt al-Qulūb performs successively on the *duff*, *shabbāba*, and 'ūd for the Lady Zubaida, giving the *rāwī* of the story the occasion to liken the finger-holes of the *shabbāba* to its "eyes".<sup>12</sup>

The *nāy tatarī* (Tartar flute) has no existence in Arabian music save in the *Tale of King 'Umar ibn al-Nu'mān and his Sons*.<sup>13</sup> Its

<sup>1</sup> Riaño, *Notes on Early Spanish Music*, 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Kashf al-humūm*.

<sup>3</sup> Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, 143.

<sup>4</sup> Russell, *History of Aleppo*, (1794), i, 152.

<sup>5</sup> v, 334.

<sup>6</sup> *Ency. of Islām*, iii, 530.

<sup>7</sup> ii, 654 (iii, 428).

<sup>8</sup> Farmer, *Studies*, i, 65; *Ency. of Islām*, iii, 539.

<sup>9</sup> ii, 448 (iii, 251).

<sup>10</sup> ii, 179 (iii, 30).

<sup>11</sup> Burton, as usual, has his own spelling of *shibāba*.

<sup>12</sup> iv, 172 (v, 191). Cf. Robson, *Tracts on Listening to Music*, 99.

<sup>13</sup> i, 372 (i, 395).



identity therefore escapes us, although it may have been a recorder (beaked flute) similar to the Tartar *tūtik*. Yet since we see it in the midst of the *'ūd jilligī* (Damascus lute), the *jank 'ajamī* (Persian harp) and the *qānūn miṣrī* (Egyptian psaltery), the special provenance given this *nāy* may have been a mere literary flourish.

The *zamr* (pl. *zumūr*) or *mizmār* (pl. *māzāmīr*) was a reed-pipe in its specific sense. Sometimes it was used with the *'ūd* in indoor music, but more often with the *duff* (tambourine) or *ṭabl* (drum) in outdoor music. It is prominent in the scenes of public rejoicings as in the *Tale of King 'Umar ibn al-Nu'mān and his Sons* where the citizens greet his son Kanmakan,<sup>1</sup> and in the *Story of Jānshāh* where the army of King Taghmūs marches out to martial strains.<sup>2</sup>

The *būq* (pl. *būqāt*) was the generic name for any instrument of the horn or trumpet family, but specifically it referred to the conical tube group. Like the *zamr*, its place is in the warlike and procession scenes displayed in the *Tale of King 'Umar ibn al-Nu'mān and his Sons*,<sup>3</sup> the *Story of Jānshāh*,<sup>4</sup> and other episodes.

The *naḡīr* (pl. *anfār*) was the cylindrical trumpet. It was unknown by this name until the eleventh century.<sup>5</sup> Only once is it referred to in the *Nights* where a solitary *naḡīr* plays with *būqāt* (horns), *kāsāt* (cymbals), *zumūr* (reed-pipes), and *ṭubūl* (drums) at the head of the army of King Taghmūs as he sets out to give battle to the hosts of Hind.<sup>6</sup>

One other wind instrument deserves notice here although it seems to be a mechanical contrivance of the automatic type described in my *Organ of the Ancients* as the *ālat al-zamr*.<sup>7</sup> The instrument is not named, but the description given in the *Tale of King 'Umar ibn al-Nu'mān and his Sons* leaves little doubt as to its identity.<sup>8</sup> We are told in the story that Prince Sharrkān entered a spacious saloon where he saw human figures, "in the interior of which instruments were set in motion by air pressure," so that the Prince thought that the figures were talking. No "talking appliances are mentioned by Arabic writers, but "piping appliances" were certainly known to them, the specifications for

<sup>1</sup> i, 690 (ii, 196).

<sup>3</sup> i, 357 (i, 382).

<sup>5</sup> Ibn al-Tiqṭaqa, *Al-Faḡrī*, 30.

<sup>7</sup> Chap. vi.

<sup>2</sup> ii, 656 (iii, 430).

<sup>4</sup> ii, 656 (iii, 430).

<sup>6</sup> ii, 656 (iii, 430).

<sup>8</sup> i, 383 (i, 396).



which were made known to the Arabs by means of translations from the Greek of Archimedes, Apollonius, and Heron.<sup>1</sup>

The *duff* (pl. *dufūf*), in the specific sense, is the rectangular tambourine with a membrane on both sides of the frame. The term was also a generic one applied to any type of tambourine.<sup>2</sup> It was essentially an instrument of the folk and in the *Nights* is constantly in the hands of the songstresses and singing-girls,<sup>3</sup> although we cannot always be sure whether it is the rectangular instrument which is meant, save in one place where the *tār* or round tambourine is mentioned with it.<sup>4</sup>

The *duff mausiṭī* (Mosul tambourine) is spoken of in one place in the *Nights*, but this special name is not known elsewhere. The *nisba* or adjective of provenance occurs in the Būlāq text,<sup>5</sup> but it is missing from the Calcutta<sup>6</sup> and Beyrout<sup>7</sup> texts, and it is probable therefore that it is simply an adornment by a *kātib* or *rāwī* so as to harmonize with the *‘ūd-‘irāqī* (‘Irāqian lute) and *jank ‘ajamī* (Persian harp) mentioned with it.

The *tār* (pl. *tārān*) is the round tambourine with one membrane and with metal plates in the frame of the instrument. It is found in the hands of the songstresses and singing-girls in the *Nights*,<sup>8</sup> with whom it served also as a collecting box for gifts as already mentioned. It was placed on the ground or floor with the membrane downwards so that money could be thrown into it.<sup>9</sup> With the professional minstrel the *tār* was the most important instrument of rhythm as the charming apostrophe in the *Nights* shows.<sup>10</sup>

Lane's artists give several delineations of the tambourine known as the *tār*,<sup>11</sup> although in the stories themselves it is simply the *duff* or *duff mausiṭī* that is mentioned. The best design is that which serves as a tailpiece to the *Story of the Humpback*,<sup>12</sup> the model being the instrument given in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.<sup>13</sup>

The *ṭabl* (pl. *ṭabūl*) was often the ordinary cylindrical drum, but in the generic sense the term was applied to any type of drum. It is therefore difficult to determine in the *Nights*, where its mention

<sup>1</sup> Burton admits the Heron derivation of the novelty although his reference to "the motive force of steam" cannot be accepted. See Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients*, 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Ency. of Islām*, v, 73.

<sup>3</sup> i, 165 (i, 191); i, 225 (i, 252); i, 353 (i, 378).

<sup>4</sup> i, 165 (i, 191).

<sup>5</sup> i, 27 (i, 83).

<sup>6</sup> i, 67.

<sup>7</sup> i, 55.

<sup>8</sup> i, 165 (i, 191-2).

<sup>9</sup> Lane, *Arab. Nights*, i, 317.

<sup>10</sup> iv, 172 (v, 190-1).

<sup>11</sup> Lane, *Arab. Nights*, i, 227, 291, 296, 306.

<sup>12</sup> Lane, op. cit., i, 296.

<sup>13</sup> Lane, 366.

is legion, to which type the word refers, although the scene of the story and the percussive verb may help sometimes to hazard a guess whether it is the ordinary drum or the kettledrum that is meant. If at a private festival or public rejoicing the former is more likely,<sup>1</sup> whereas in a martial or processional setting the latter seems more proper.<sup>2</sup> One of Lane's artists has shown the former, the ordinary cylindrical drum, where it appears in the *Story of Ma'rūf*.<sup>3</sup>

The *kūs* (pl. *kūsāt*) was the largest kettledrum used by the Arabs<sup>4</sup> until the Mughals introduced the *kurga*. In the *Nights* it occurs with other martial instruments in the *nauba* or military band, although the *kūsāt* of the Beyrout text<sup>5</sup> is sometimes changed to *kāsāt* (cymbals) in the Calcutta<sup>6</sup> and Būlāq texts.

The *ṭabli bāz* was a very small kettledrum of metal played by means of a leathern or fabric strap. It is not actually mentioned in the *Nights* by name, but there can be little doubt, as the perspicuous Burton has guessed, that the *ṭabl* mentioned in the story of *Hasan al-Baṣrī* was a *bāz*, to use the modern truncated name.<sup>7</sup> In this tale we read of "a *ṭabl* (drum) of copper and a *zakhma* (beater) of silk worked in gold with talismans".<sup>8</sup> Lane translated *zakhma* by "plectrum" which annoyed Burton because it was misleading. This is true enough if we merely consider the modern usage of the term *plectrum* for the implement with which the strings of a lute or similar instrument is plucked. Yet in its older Greek and Latin meaning the word stood for any striking implement, just as *zakhma* does in Arabic, since the latter is used for the plectrum of a lute, the bow of a viol, one of the beating rods of a dulcimer, or one of the sticks or beaters of a drum. On the whole, Lane had good reasons for using the word *plectrum*, although the present writer has avoided it.

This magic drum, with its talismanic *zakhma*, is just one further example of the close connection between magic and music, a notion so deeply cherished by the Semites.<sup>9</sup> Even to-day the *bāz* is the favoured instrument of the *musahḥir* (enchanted one) when he is collecting alms.<sup>10</sup>

The *darbukka* (pl. *darbukāt*) is a goblet-shaped drum with a

<sup>1</sup> i, 700.

<sup>2</sup> iii, 150, 274, 282.

<sup>3</sup> iii, 364.

<sup>4</sup> *Ikhwān al-Safā'*, i, 91.

<sup>5</sup> ii, 57, 96.

<sup>6</sup> i, 650, 700.

<sup>7</sup> v, 57. See Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 164, for a design.

<sup>8</sup> iv, 14 (v, 57); iv, 22 (v, 65).

<sup>9</sup> See my *Sa'adyah Gaon on the Influence of Music*, chap. i.

<sup>10</sup> Lane, op. cit., 365.

to the latter's version of *The Barber's Tale of his Fifth Brother*.<sup>1</sup> Yet, truth to tell, the *kamānja* is not mentioned anywhere in the *Nights*. Nor is its cousin the *rabāb* given recognition. Lane's coadjutor was obviously influenced by the great Arabist's *Modern Egyptians*, where the instrument is shown.<sup>2</sup> Yet, seeing that the Arabs knew of the viol as early as the ninth century<sup>3</sup> we can reasonably suppose that, in spite of it not being mentioned, the musical auditors in the *Nights* must have listened to its "drawn notes", as Al-Fārābī would say,<sup>4</sup> especially in those stories of Egyptian and Syrian facture. Certainly the musical auditors of the *Nights* knew of the viol, which has ever been *facile princeps* among the instruments of the *rāwī* and *shā'ir* at the café or camp-fire, as both Lane and Burton have shown elsewhere.

## § V

### THE CRAFT OF THE MUSIC

Having discussed almost every other phase of the music of the *Nights* we must finally turn to the music *per se*. In this inquiry there are two aspects to be viewed, if we are to follow the accepted Arab procedure, viz. the theoretical (*naẓarī*) and the practical ('*amālī*'), which give us, respectively, the science ('*ilm*') and art ('*san'*') of music. both of which have been considerably misunderstood by authoritative writers on the *Nights*.

Lane, who was perspicacious in most things, indulged in that ridiculous, but oft-repeated notion, that the Arabian music scale consisted of a "division of tones into thirds",<sup>5</sup> a statement already made in his *Modern Egyptians*.<sup>6</sup> We cannot lay too much blame on the shoulders of the great Orientalist for this blunder, since even specialists like Villoteau<sup>7</sup> and Fétis,<sup>8</sup> to mention no others, had already subscribed to it. What all these writers had in mind was the theory of the Systematist School, which they did not comprehend.<sup>9</sup>

In the science of music three distinct schools of thought existed during the period covered by the *Nights*, and in each case the scale

<sup>1</sup> i, 360.

<sup>2</sup> p. 358.

<sup>3</sup> Farmer, *Studies*, i, 101.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 102.

<sup>5</sup> i, 204.

<sup>6</sup> 354.

<sup>7</sup> *Description de l'Égypte (De l'état actuel de l'art musical moderne)*, i, 613.

<sup>8</sup> *Histoire générale de la musique*, ii, 170.

<sup>9</sup> See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, iii, 749, and *Recueil des travaux du Congrès de Musique arabe* (Cairo, 1934), 652.

was basically Pythagorean. Yet there is no mention of these schools in the *Nights*, and apart from the mere admission of the omniscient Tawaddud regarding the theory of music (*fann al-mūsīqā*),<sup>1</sup> this "most difficult of the mathematical sciences"<sup>2</sup> is ignored in its ample pages. It is not strange, therefore, that whilst the learned (*‘ulamā*) and the legists (*fuqahā*) question this boastful singing-girl on almost all the sciences so as to test her vaunted knowledge, no attempt is made to catechize her on the theory of music. Therefore we need not trouble ourselves further with this intricate subject because, outside of Lane's notes, it is not discussed in the *Nights*, as we have seen.

What is of greater importance than scientific theory is practical theory, because the technicalities of this aspect of the music of the *Nights* disport themselves on so many pages of these tales, more often than not, to the utter embarrassment of the Arabic reader. It is true that in the European versions we are not disconcerted by any technicalities, for the simple reason that the translators gloss most of these quite plausibly if not speciously. On this account it is not too much to say that the whole question deserves fuller consideration than what has been accorded it, which is evidenced by Burton's rather immoderate applause for a solitary note on the subject made by Payne,<sup>3</sup> whilst Lane has not vouchsafed a single line of worth to this question which his deserved fame as a lexicographer ought to have compelled.

Yet it has to be conceded that the technical musical nomenclature of practical theory, as shown in the *Nights*, is difficult of apprehension. Much of the perplexity is due to the use of vague terms, but generally one can ascribe the following causes for the difficulties which are encountered:—(1) The technical expressions are not constant in meaning because of the diverse periods and places of facture of the tales. (2) In those tales translated from other languages the translator may have been unable to find the appropriate Arabic word.<sup>4</sup> (3) The ignorance of *kātib* or *rāwī*, as scribe or storyteller, would also account for some of the confused terminology.

Since Arabic theorists of music have, from the earliest times,

<sup>1</sup> ii, 493 (iii, 281).

<sup>2</sup> This was the opinion of Ishāq ibn Sulaimān (d. c. 932), better known as Isaac Israeli.

<sup>3</sup> v, 376.

<sup>4</sup> This is inconsiderable. Most of the technical musical terms occur in tales of Arabic origin.

treated music as consisting of two basic divisions—melody (*lahn*) and rhythm (*iqā'*), it seems advisable to follow this procedure. *Lahn* is the general Arabic term for "melody", and it is used in this sense in the *Nights*,<sup>1</sup> although in two places such words as *ghinā'*<sup>2</sup> and *maghnā'* (مغنى)<sup>3</sup> are given this meaning. The second of our divisions is rhythm, generally known as *iqā'*, although the term is not used in the *Nights*. Still, such words as *darabāt* (beats)<sup>4</sup> and *ḥarakāt* (pulsations)<sup>5</sup> possibly refer to rhythms.

As elsewhere, music in the *Nights* was either vocal or instrumental. The term *saūt*, as used in the *Nights*, means a "vocal piece",<sup>6</sup> as it does in the *Kitāb al-aghānī*. *Ghinā'* is applied, as in Arabic in general, to "singing" or "song".<sup>7</sup> This, however, is a generic term, whereas specific words like *anshūda* and *tartīl* connote "rhythmic song" and "unrhythmic song" respectively. We read that a vocalist "sang" (*ghanna*)<sup>8</sup> or "chanted" (*anshada*).<sup>9</sup> Of an instrumentalist it is usually stated that he "played" (*daraba*),<sup>10</sup> or "performed" (*tarraba*),<sup>11</sup> or "executed" (*amila*),<sup>12</sup> or "manipulated" (*qallaba*)<sup>13</sup> upon an instrument which, in the *Nights*, was generally the *'ūd* (lute).

One must admit, however, that the use of the words *anshada* ("chanted") and *ghanna* ("sang") is often confusing, although I have suggested that the latter is generic and the former specific. Indeed sometimes it would appear that two distinct types of vocal music is implied. Take, for example, a passage from the *Tale of 'Alī ibn Bakkar and of Shams al-Nahār*:—

امر جارية من الجوارى ان تغنى فاخذت العود واصلحته وجسته  
وضربت به ثم انشدت تقول شعر.

"He commanded one of the slave-girls to *sing*, so she took the lute, and tuned it, and fingered it, and played on it. Then she *chanted* saying poetry."<sup>14</sup> Here it would seem that chanting was the same as singing. On the other hand we have it stated in the same story that slave-girls "sang *and* chanted poetry",<sup>15</sup> implying,

<sup>1</sup> ii, 450 (iii, 253).

<sup>2</sup> ii, 149 (iii, 16).

<sup>3</sup> iv, 266 (v, 297).

<sup>4</sup> Throughout.

<sup>5</sup> i, 69 (i, 85).

<sup>6</sup> ii, 37 (ii, 419).

<sup>7</sup> ii, 163 (iii, 16).

<sup>8</sup> i, 762 (ii, 263).

<sup>9</sup> ii, 450 (iii, 252).

<sup>10</sup> ii, 438 (iii, 240).

<sup>11</sup> ii, 149 (iii, 8).

<sup>12</sup> i, 809 (ii, 305).

<sup>13</sup> ii, 54 (ii, 434).

<sup>14</sup> ii, 87 (ii, 462).

<sup>15</sup> i, 809 (ii, 305).



seemingly, that chanting and singing were not the same. Once again this contrariety may be due to the ignorance or carelessness of *kātib* or *rāwī*.

Arabian music of the period of the *Nights*, which stretches over many centuries, was modal, just as it is to-day. This qualification covers both melody and rhythm. The general term for a mode, whether melodic or rhythmic, was *ṭarīqa* (pl. *ṭarā'iq*) or *ṭurqa* (pl. *ṭuraq*).<sup>1</sup> Lane was of opinion that *ṭarīqa* in this sense was a post-classical word,<sup>2</sup> but against this statement is the fact that it is employed in the *Kitāb al-aghānī*<sup>3</sup> and elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> where it is used of both melodic and rhythmic modes.

We find mention of twenty-one and twenty-four of these *ṭarā'iq* or *ṭuraq* being performed one after another,<sup>5</sup> although we cannot determine whether the reference is to melodic or rhythmic modes, except in one place, in the story of *Ishāq al-Mausilī and the Merchant*, where of a singing-girl we are told that "she sang various *ṭuraq* to rare melodies (*alḥān*)".<sup>6</sup>

Then we have the term used in reference to musical "form", i.e. the order in which, or the basis upon which, music was composed and performed. We are told that an artiste "played (*ḍaraba*) upon twenty-one *ṭuraq* and then returned to the first *ṭarīqa*".<sup>7</sup> A procedure, perhaps, much like our *rondo* form.

Looking around for clues so as to surmount the obstacles of identification, one is inclined to classify the mode which is "performed" (*tarraba*) as melodic, and that which is "played" (*ḍaraba*) as rhythmic; but there is no certainty in this distinction because *طرب* and *ضرب* can so easily be misread by a careless copyist. Yet here and there we can probably discern where melodic modes are intended even when the term *ṭarīqa* is not present. One example in the story of *Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī and the Barber-Surgeon* shows that a musician "enlivened with *naḡhamāt*" *اطربت بالنغمات*.<sup>8</sup> Another passage, in the story of *Muḥammad*

<sup>1</sup> iv, 262 (v, 294); iv, 265 (v, 296).

<sup>2</sup> *Lexicon*, 1849.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction. Yet this really depends on the date of the Introduction, which might be later than the time of Abu'l-Faraj (tenth century).

<sup>4</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, ii, 188.

<sup>5</sup> ii, 163 (iii, 16); ii, 259 (iii, 105).

<sup>6</sup> ii, 436 (iii, 239).

<sup>7</sup> ii, 267 (iii, 111); iv, 362 (v, 294).

<sup>8</sup> ii, 140 (ii, 513).



*al-Amīn and the Slave-girl*, runs: "She sang with pleasing *naghamāt*" غنت باطيب النغمات.<sup>1</sup> A third reference, in *Abu'l-Husn and his slave-girl Tawaddud*, is to Tawaddud who "played upon it [the lute] in twelve *nagham*" ضربت عليه اثني عشر نغما.<sup>2</sup> All of these tales are pitched in the "Golden Age" of Islām, at a time when the term *naghamāt* (sing. *naghma*) stood for "notes", whilst *nagham* (sing. *naghm*) meant "melody". It was only much later, certainly after the fourteenth century A.D., that *naghamāt* came to stand for "modes", although we must not forget how closely the two terms are bound together, as we know from the Greek *τόνοι*, which meant both notes and modes.<sup>3</sup> It seems to me that, in these tales and others of their kind, the *kātib* or *rāwī* used older material, but touched it up with more modern terms.

As for the rhythmic modes, it is not improbable that in the *Tale of King 'Umar ibn Nu'mān and his Sons* the reference to the instrumentalist who "changed the *ḍarb*" غيرت الضرب,<sup>4</sup> or another, in the story of *Ishāq al-Mausilī and the Merchant*, who "consummated the *ḍarabāt*" احكمت الضربات,<sup>5</sup> or the lady, in *'Alī Nūr al-Dīn and Maryām the Girdle-Girl*, who "played upon it [the lute] with the best of her *ḥarakāt*" ضربت عليه باحسن حركاتها,<sup>6</sup> applies to rhythmic modes.

The question now arises, "Why the several terms for the same thing?" The answer has already been partly indicated, although it must be insisted that, in spite of Lane's opinion to the contrary, *ṭarā'iq* and *ṭuraq* are early and not late words. These occur in what may definitely be considered to be early tales, and we know that the term *ṭarq* (pl. *ṭurūq*) had a similar meaning as early as Al-Laith ibn al-Muzaffar (eighth century A.D.), and it persisted until the time of the *Tāj al-'arūs*. On the other hand, *naghamāt* and *ḍarabāt*, in the sense of melodic and rhythmic modes, are later, and are still current in Egypt.<sup>7</sup>

All these melodic and rhythmic modes had special names, lists

<sup>1</sup> ii, 403 (iii, 208).

<sup>2</sup> ii, 427 (iii, 240).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (London, 1930), 238.

<sup>4</sup> i, 372 (i, 395).

<sup>5</sup> ii, 437 (iii, 240).

<sup>6</sup> iv, 266 (v, 297).

<sup>7</sup> Darwish Muḥammad, *Ṣafā' al-awqāt* (1910), pp. 10, 20.

of which may be found elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> yet, with the exception of a passing verse reference to the *thaqīl* and *khafīf* rhythms in *Khālifa the Fisherman of Baghdād*,<sup>2</sup> we have no mention of them in the *Nights*. Here is what we read:—

“Ho thou o’ the tambourine,<sup>3</sup> my heart takes flight  
And love-smit cries while thy fingers smite.

So say thou word *thaqīl* or *khafīf*:

Play whate’r thou please it will charm the sprite

Yet the words may not actually be the names of rhythmic modes, but may refer to the heavy or light beats in rhythm, or as the modern Arab tambouriner has it, the *tumm* or *takk* beats.

The forms of vocal music in the *Nights* are not many. It is generally the *qitā’* that is used, generally two or three verses, often designated a *nufṭa*, being employed. That two verses were used may have been due to the fact that two musical phrases was the rule at this time in vocal music. Of course, longer forms were occasionally used. With most of the vocal pieces there was generally an instrumental prelude (*bashrau*) as well as a postlude (*khatm*), although the *Nights* do not mention them. This, of course, only refers to the accompanied song.

In instrumental music, no particular forms are alluded to in the *Nights*. The only definite reference to anything of this sort is in the *nauba* which is frequently mentioned. This was, and still is, the classical vocal and instrumental *suite* (*nauba*) of the Arabs. We have already noticed the term being used to signify a military band, because it was this combination which performed the five daily time signals (*naubāt*). The *nauba* of chamber music received its name in much the same way.<sup>4</sup> Under the early ‘Abbāsid khalifs, the court musicians had a particular hour and day for their performances,<sup>5</sup> and this is adverted to in the *Nights* where a songstress is appointed to a Thursday *nauba*.<sup>6</sup> It was this taking turn (*nauba*) that gave rise to the term for the music played on these occasions.

In the *Nights* we read of a “complete *nauba*” being sung,<sup>7</sup> and similarly of a “merry *nauba*”.<sup>8</sup> These references are taken

<sup>1</sup> See my *History of Arabian Music*, pp. 71–2, 179, 20–5, and *Sa’adyah Gaon on the Influence of Music*, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> iv, 172 (v, 190).

<sup>3</sup> *Tār.* Burton says: “Ho thou o’ the tabret.”

<sup>4</sup> *Encyclopædia of Islām*, iii, 885.

<sup>5</sup> *Kitāb al-aghānī*, iii, 177.

<sup>6</sup> ii, 439 (iii, 242).

<sup>7</sup> iv, 173 (v, 191).

<sup>8</sup> ii, 300 (iii, 125).

from early tales, *Khalifa the Fisherman of Baghdād* and *Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī and the Merchant's Sister*, and indeed those references which follow from the story of 'Alā al-Dīn Abu'l-Shāmāt and Nu'mat ibn al-Rabī'a and Nu'm his Slave-girl, are also early tales. The word was also used of an instrumental suite, as we have record of a performer who "executed a *nauba*" on the lute,<sup>1</sup> whilst in another story we read of a performer who "played a *nauba*" on this instrument.<sup>2</sup> Although it is not specifically mentioned these references show that the various movements, vocal and/or instrumental, of the *nauba*, were given. Yet only once is there a direct implication of the actual movement performed, and that is when we are told that a performer "took the lute and executed a *nauba* . . . and [afterwards] began the *dārīj* of the *nauba*".<sup>3</sup> This *dārīj* is apparently one of the movements of the *nauba*, and it takes its name from a rhythmic mode with this label which does not appear to be mentioned earlier than the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries A.D. The modern *naubāt* of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria contain a movement named *darj*, the rhythm of which is identical with the *dārīj* rhythmic mode.

A final word concerning two further technical terms used in instrumental performance seems desirable. In the story of *The Ruined Man of Baghdād and his Slave-Girl* there is a passage in which the terms *turaq* and *tarīqa* are used in a sense rather different from that which has been accepted. Here is the passage in question<sup>4</sup>:  
 اخذت العود وغيرت الطرق طريقة بعد طريقة وضربت على الطريقة التي قد تعلمتها. It is quite evident that *turaq* طرق (sing. *turqa*) in this place means "tunings", or, as musicians would say, *accordatura*. *Tarīqa* طريقة (pl. *tarā'iq*), as we have seen, means "mode", but whilst each string could be said to give, by fingering, a "mode", or, more strictly speaking, a genre (*jins*) of a "mode", we must, for the sake of clarity, translate the term differently where it first occurs in this passage, and render it as "note". The version would then read: "She took the lute and altered the *accordatura* (*turaq*), note (*tarīqa*) by note (*tarīqa*), and played in a mode (*tarīqa*) which she had learned from me."

Another word of technical importance is *jassa* جَسَّ which means

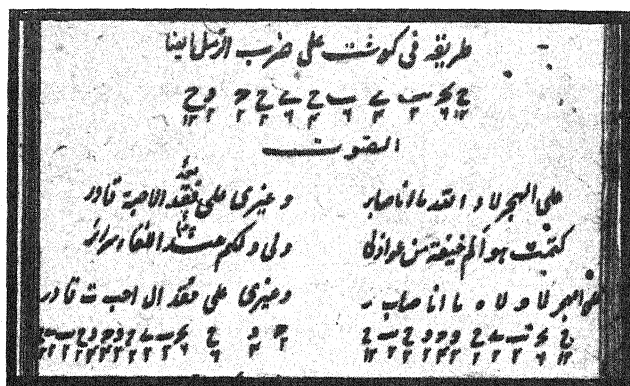
<sup>1</sup> ii, 98 (ii, 471).

<sup>2</sup> ii, 54 (ii, 434).

<sup>3</sup> ii, 87 (ii, 462).

<sup>4</sup> iv, 361 (v, 376).





Musical tablature of a melody (*lahn*) and a vocal piece (*šant*) in the *kuwāshī* melodic mode (*tarīqa*) and the *ramāl* rhythmic mode (*darb*). From the *Kitāb al-adwār* of Šafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294). British Museum manuscript (dated 1663) Or. 2361.



A group of instrumentalists playing a drum (*kūba*), lute (*'ūd*), tambourine (*tār*), and flute (*šabbāba*). From the *Kitāb fī ma'rīfat al-ḥiyāl* of Badī' al-Zamān . . . al-Jazarī (fl. 1206). Stambūl manuscript (dated 1354).

"to finger" or "to thrum". According to the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* (tenth century), the derivative noun *jass* specifically means "the striking (*naqr*) of the strings [of the lute] with the forefinger and the thumb underneath the plectrum".<sup>1</sup> An example in the *Nights* runs: "He took the lute and thrummed it" اخذ العود وجسّه.<sup>2</sup> Burton mellifluently says: "He took the lute and swept the strings."<sup>3</sup> In another passage we read: "He thrummed the lute" جَسَّ العود,<sup>4</sup> which Burton renders: "He turned it [the lute]."<sup>5</sup> A further, and more pointed, case is: "She took the lute, and supported it upon her robust bosom, and thrummed it with her finger-tips (*anāmīl*)" اخذت العود اسندته الى نهديها وجسّته باناملها,<sup>6</sup> which Burton shortens into: "She took the lute and swept the strings with her fingertips."<sup>7</sup>

## § VI

## CONCLUSION

In spite of the obscurity of the technical musical terminology of the *Nights*, I venture to suggest that what has been unravelled in the foregoing inquiry will contribute to some extent to a better understanding of *The Music of the Arabian Nights*. Even apart from the technical aspect of the inquiry, I believe that the clues which emerge here and there in this discussion will assist in solving other problems, such as the date and provenance of particular tales, a point which I emphasized in my contribution to the *Survey of Persian Art*.<sup>8</sup> At any rate the undertaking will not have been in vain since the Arabic proverb tells us that even a seemingly useless thing may be turned to some account: قطعوها صحت للطبيرة

"They cut it to pieces, yet it served for the pandore."<sup>9</sup>

As a tailpiece I submit the earliest example of recorded music from Arabic sources. It is taken from the *Kitāb al-adwār* of Ṣaḥī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294) and serves as a specimen of the type of melody and song favoured in the *Nights*. As Plate VII

<sup>1</sup> p. 239.      <sup>2</sup> iii, 389.      <sup>3</sup> iv, 322.      <sup>4</sup> iii, 410.

<sup>5</sup> iv, 343. "Turned" is possibly a printer's slip for "tuned".

<sup>6</sup> i, 70.      <sup>7</sup> i, 86.      <sup>8</sup> p. 2794.

<sup>9</sup> Burckhardt, *Arab. Prov.*, 115. The reference is to the skin used for the face (*wajh*) of the pandore (*tunbūra*). Burckhardt calls this instrument the *drum*, being misled apparently by the French word *tambour*.



shows, the music is written in an alphabetic and numeric tablature. These I have transcribed into European notation. The mensural values of some of the notes in this manuscript are incorrect. The first mensural figure in line 2 should read ♪ instead of ♪♪, and the last six mensural figures of line 9 should read ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪. Here is a transcription of the melody and vocal piece which are in the melodic mode *kuwāshī* and the rhythmic mode *ramāl*. The scale is the Pythagorean and the accidentals marked with *plus* (+) and *minus* (−) signs indicate the sharpening and flattening of a note by a *limma* and *comma* respectively.

MELODY

VOCAL PIECE

'A- lā-l ḥaj-ri lā wal-lā-hī mā a- nā ḡā-bī -ru

Wa- ḡhaī-ri 'a- lā faq- di al- a- ḥī b- ba-tī ḡā-dī -ru

## Ibn Bajjah's *Tadbīrū'l-Mutawahhīd* (Rule of the Solitary)

By D. M. DUNLOP

THOUGH Ibn Bājjah (Avempace) is by common consent one of the representative Arab philosophers, our knowledge of his views has rested on a narrow basis. Carra de Vaux in France and Sarton in the United States stressed that he is little more than a name—though a famous one—and pointed to the desirability of getting to know more of his work. Students had, when Carra de Vaux and Sarton wrote, been confined for knowledge of Ibn Bājjah's writings to the Hebrew extracts from his *Tadbīrū'l-Mutawahhīd*, translated into French by Munk eighty years ago and later dealt with by others.<sup>1</sup> Though at least two MSS. were known to exist in Europe no work of Ibn Bājjah had appeared in the original.

In 1940 Asin Palacios, who had already included a study<sup>2</sup> of the philosopher in his wide-ranging activity, began to publish the results of his work during 1936–9. First he produced the treatise *Fī'n-Nabāt* (*On Plants*).<sup>3</sup> This exhibited Ibn Bājjah in a new light, as botanist, and was the first of his writings to become available in the original Arabic. Others were to follow. Until these works were published there seems to have been quite as little information about Ibn Bājjah in the East as in the West. There is no Oriental printed text,<sup>4</sup> and no MS. has so far come to light. A long and interesting letter received recently from H.E. Muṣṭafā 'Abdu'r-Rāziq Pasha of the University of Cairo provides a fuller bibliography of Ibn Bājjah than is usually to be met with, but makes clear that, apart from the works published by Asin Palacios, nothing of his is available in the original, East or West.

From what is said by Ibn Bājjah's contemporary biographer we should expect to learn the special character of his thought best from two treatises, the *Ittiṣālu'l-'Aql bi'l-Insān* (*Union of the Intellect with Man*) and the *Risālatu'l-Wadā'* (*Letter of Farewell*).

<sup>1</sup> *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, 388 seq. See also D. Herzog in *Beitr. zur Philosophie des Mittelalters*, i, 1896 (*Die Abhandlung des Abu Bekr Ibn al-Saig*, i.e. Ibn Bājjah, *Vom Verhalten des Einsiedlers*), and E. Rosenthal, *MGWJ.*, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> *Revista de Aragón*, 1900–2.

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Andalus*, 1940.

<sup>4</sup> *Ad-Dirāsātu'l-Hadīthah* is cited for the *Risālatu'l-Wadā'* in Hebrew translation by Rosenthal. I have been unable to see this, but the author is neither Dr. E. Rosenthal nor Dr. Franz Rosenthal.

Both of these have now been edited by Asin Palacios with translation and important introductions.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, according to a modern view, neither of these works but "*le traité intitulé du Régime du solitaire était sans doute l'ouvrage le plus remarquable et le plus original d'Ibn-Bādja*".<sup>2</sup> However this may be, the Bodleian MS. Pococke 206 contains the *Tadbīru'l-Mutawāḥḥid*, but neither the *Union* nor the *Letter of Farewell* complete. The *Union* appears to be so, but as Asin Palacios has shown in his introduction, it runs into the other, which consequently lacks a beginning. The Bodleian MS. contains other treatises and short essays on a variety of subjects, among them one on music hitherto unknown.<sup>3</sup> Pococke himself evidently studied the MS. Mr. E. O. Winstedt writes that pencil notes in Latin in the margin appear to correspond with his hand. It was also collated by Asin Palacios for his editions. Otherwise no particular attention seems at any time to have been paid it, possibly on account of the difficulty of reading the largely unvocalized and unpointed text.

The present work was planned independently with the intention of producing the first text of Ibn Bājjah in the original. A main reason for selecting the *Tadbīr*, apart from its importance, which is clear from the remarks of Ibn Rushd (Averroes) and Ibn Ṭufail, not to mention Munk's dictum already quoted, was the fact that the Bodleian MS. contains the only known text. If the difficulties and hazards involved in attempting to edit an Arabic text, particularly of an abstract character, from a single MS. should have been pointed out, the reply was ready to hand that if the work were to be edited at all, it must be from the Bodleian MS. and that alone. It is hoped that the reader of the following pages will not be conscious of these difficulties and hazards in a painful manner. Further, the work as it stands was of a convenient size for publication as a single article. In the Hebrew version considerably more material is added, evidently taken from what in MS. Pococke 206 appears as a separate work with the title *aṣ-Ṣuwaru'r-Rūḥāniyah* (*The Spiritual Forms*). It is not perhaps necessary here to do more than note this difference. I have gone on to complete a text and translation of the *Tadbīr*, for although it has already engaged the attention of Asin Palacios, it is not yet, I believe,

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Andalus*, vii and viii, 1942 and 1943.

<sup>2</sup> Munk, *ibid.*, 388.

<sup>3</sup> With title *Fī'l-Alḥān*, fols. 221b-222a.

published, in the hope that what has been attempted may contribute to the work on Ibn Bājjah begun in Spain under such happy auspices.

I am greatly obliged as on very frequent occasions to Professor Kahle, of Oxford, and Dr. Robson, of Glasgow, for their help. Professor Kahle has taken a benevolent interest in the study throughout. Dr. Robson has checked the text against the MS. (in photograph through the courtesy of the Bodleian Directorate) and has read the translation. In view of his criticisms the work is now offered with greater confidence to readers. I have also to thank Mr. M. T. Ramzi, of Cairo, who has been kind enough to help in various ways.

### ومن كلامه رضى الله عنه فى تدبير المتوحد

قال ابو بكر بن الصائغ رحمه الله : لفظه التدبير فى لسان العرب تقال على معان كثيرة قد احصاها اهل لسانهم ، واشهر دلالتها بالجملة على ترتيب افعال نحو غايات <sup>1</sup> مقصودة . فلذلك لا يطلقونها على من فعل فعلا واحدا . يقصد به غاية ما ، فان من اعتقد فى ذلك الفعل انه واحد لم يطلق عليه التدبير . واما من اعتقد فيه انه كثير واخذه من حيث هو ذو ترتيب ، سمي ذلك الترتيب تدبيرا . ولذلك يطلقون على الاله انه مدبر العالم . وهذا قد يكون بالقوة وقد يكون بالفعل ، ولفظة التدبير دلالتها على ما بالقوة اكثر واشهر . وبين ان الترتيب <sup>2</sup> اذا كان فى امور بالقوة فانما يكون ذلك بالفكرة ، فان هذا مختص بالفكر ولا يمكن ان يوجد الا فيه ، ولذلك لا يمكن ان يوجد الا للانسان فقط ، وما يقال عليه المدبر فانما هو التشبيه به بالتدبير مقول بتقديم وتأخير .

وقد يقال التدبير على ايجاد هذا الترتيب على جهة ما هو متكون ، وهو فى افعال الانسان اكثر واظهر وفى افعال الحيوان غير الناطق اقل ذلك . واذا قيل التدبير على هذا النحو فقد يقال بعموم وخصوص . واذا

<sup>1</sup> MS. به عاياه with به crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> So MS. Perhaps read التدبير.

قيل بعموم قيل في كل افعال الانسان كيف كانت ، فذلك يقال في المهيمن  
ويقال في القوى الا انه في القوى أكثر واشهر . ولذلك (165b) يقال في  
ترتيب الامور الحربية فلا يكاد يقال في صناعة السكافة والحياكة . واذا  
قيل على هذا الوجه فقد يقال ايضا بعموم اخر وخصوص ، واذا قيل  
بعموم قيل في كل الافعال التي تشتمل عليها <sup>1</sup> الصنائع التي تسمى بالقوى ،  
وقد لخصته في العلم المدني ، واذا قيل لمخصوص قيل على تدبير المدن .  
وما يقال عليه التدبير يتقدم بعضه بعضا بالشرف والكمال ، واشرف  
الامور التي يقال عليها التدبير تدبير المدن وتدبير المنزل ، وقل ما يطلق  
عليه التدبير حتى يقال تدبير المنزل بروف <sup>2</sup> وتقييد . فاما تدبير الحرب  
فسائر ذلك فهي اجزا لهتين النوعين . فاما تدبير الاله للعالم فانما هو تدبير  
بوجه اخر بعيد التشبيه عن اقرب المعاني تشبها به ، وهذا هو التدبير  
المطلق وهو اشرفها لانه انما قيل له تدبير للتشبيه المظنون بينه وبين  
ايجاد الاله تعالى العالم . وبين ان هذا الصنف من الاسماء المشكلة ابعد  
اصناف المشكلة عن التواطؤ ويكاد ان يكون مشتركا اشتراكا محضا ،  
فالجمهور يقولونه بتشكيل ، واما الفلاسفة فيقولونه باشتراك محض ، وانما  
يعدونه في المشكلة بان يكون في شيء انه شبيه شيء فنسميه باسم ذلك  
الشيء ، وهذا الصنف لم يلخص في الاسماء المشكلة لقلته ولذلك لا يرد .  
والجمهور على تدبير الاله بالصواب فيقولون في تدبير العالم انه تدبير  
صواب ، ويقولون انه تدبير محكم ومتقن وما جانس هذه الالفاظ ، فان  
هذه الالفاظ تتضمن وجود الصواب وشيئا اخر شريف بزائد له <sup>3</sup> ، فان  
الفعل الصواب عند الجمهور كالجنس للفعل المتقن والمحكم ، وتلخيص هذا  
في غير هذا الموضع .

والتدبير اذا قيل على الاطلاق كما قلناه دل على تدبير المدن ، او قيل  
بتقييد فانه ينقسم بالصواب والخطأ . وقد يظن ان التدبير قد يعرى من  
هذين المتقابلين . واذا فحص عنه وتعقب ظهر ان هذين المتقابلين يلزمانه

<sup>1</sup> عليه . MS.

<sup>2</sup> So MS. apparently. Perhaps روية .

<sup>3</sup> So MS. apparently.



ضرورة ، وتعقب ذلك غريب على من كان له ادنى وقوف على الفلسفة المدنية . فالصنفان الذان يخصان باسم التدبير قد ينقسمان<sup>1</sup> الى الصواب والخطأ . فاما تدبير المدن فقد بين امره فلاطن في السياسة المدنية وبين ما معنى الصواب فيه ومن اين يلحقه الخطأ ، وتكلف القول فيما قد قيل فيه ، فاحكم فضلا وجهلا وشرارة .

واما تدبير المنزل فان المنزل بما هو منزل فهو عن مدينة ، وبين هناك ان ذلك المنزل الطباعي هو للانسان فقط ، وبين ان الوجود الافضل لما هو جزء هو وجوده جزء<sup>2</sup> ولذلك لم يجعل جزء<sup>2</sup> من الصناعة<sup>3</sup> المدنية تدبير المنزل اذ كان ذلك قد قيل في الصناعة المدنية . وبين هناك ما المنزل وكيف وجوده ، فان وجوده الافضل ان يكون مشتركا ، وكيف صفة اشتراكه . واما المنزل في غير المدينة الفاضلة ، وهو في المدن الاربع التي عدت ، فان المنزل فيها وجوده ناقص وان فيه امرا خارجا عن الطبع . وان ذلك المنزل فقط هو الكامل الذي لا يمكن فيه زيادة فلا يعود قصا كالاصبع السادسة فان المحكم هذا خاصته ان الزيادة فيه (166a) قصان . وان سائر المنازل ناقص بالاضافة اليه ومريضة لان الاحوال التي تبين بها المنزل الفاضل تؤدي الى هلاك المنزل وبواره ، ولذلك تشبه المرض .

والقول في تدبير هذه المنازل الناقصة وهي المرضى ، قد تكلف قوم القول فيه ، وقد بلغنا كتبهم في تدبير المنزل واقاويلهم بلاغية . وبين ما قلناه ان المنازل ما عدا المنزل الفاضل مرضى فكلها متحرفة ، وليست موجودة بالطبع وانما وجودها بالوضع . ولذلك فضولها انما هي بالوضع ، اللهم الا فيما اشتركت فيه منفعة<sup>4</sup> المنزل الفاضل ، فان القول فيه انه ظاهر معلوم ضروري . فهذا الجزء المشترك افهم ان القول فيه علمي . اذ ليس يحل<sup>5</sup> لمنزل ان تكون فيه امور كثيرة مشتركة مما شأنها ان

<sup>1</sup> MS. ممسما . <sup>2</sup> MS. which might stand .

<sup>3</sup> So MS. Perhaps read السياسة .

<sup>4</sup> MS. apparently .

<sup>5</sup> MS. يتخلو .



تكون في المنزل الفاضل ، فانه ان خلا منزل من ذلك لم يمكن ان يبقى ، فلا كان منزلا الا باشتراك الاسم . فلنترك القول فيه ولنعرج عنه لمن يفرغ القول في الامور الموجودة وقتا ما .

وايضا فان كمال المنزل ليس من المقصودة لذاتها ، انما يراد به تكميل المدينة او غاية الانسان بالطبع ، وهو بين ان القول فيه جزء من القول في تدبير الانسان نفسه ، فعلى اى الجهتين كان فهو إما عن مدينة فالقول فيه جزء من القول في المدن ، او توطئة لغاية اخرى فالقول فيه جزء من القول في تلك الغاية . فمن هاهنا تبين ان القول في تدبير المنزل على ما هو مشهور ليس له جدوى فلا هو علم ، بل ان كان فوقتا ما ، كما يعرض ذلك فيما كتبه البلاغيون في كتب الاداب التي يسمونها ففسانية ، مثل كتاب كيلة ودمنة ومثل كتاب حكماء العرب ، المشتملة على الوصايا والاقاويل المنشورية . واكثر ما يوجد هذا اجزاء من كتاب ، كما يوجد ذلك بالابواب التي تتضمن محبة السلطان ومعاشرة الاخوان وما شاكل ذلك ، فان جل ذلك انما كان الصادق فيها وقتا ما وفي سيرة سائرة . فاذا تغيرت تلك السيرة تغيرت تلك الاراء التي هي اقاويل كلية ، فصارت غريبة بعد ان كانت كلية وصارت بعد ان كانت نافعة ضارة او مطرحة . وانت تبين ذلك اذا وقفت على ما كان في الكتب الموضوعة في ذلك . وفسد كل قول الى الزمان الذي بعد زمانه .

ولما كانت المدينة الفاضلة تختص بعدم صناعة الطب وصناعة القضاء ، وذلك ان المحبة بينهم اجمع فلا تشاكس بينهم اصلا . فلذلك اذا عرى جزء منها من المحبة ووقع التشاكس احتسج الى وضع العدل واحتسج ضرورة الى من يقوم به وهو القاضى . وايضا فان المدينة الفاضلة افعالها كلها صواب ، فان هذا خاصتها التي تلزمها . فلذلك لا يعتدى اهلها بالاغدية الضارة . فلذلك لا يحتاجون الى معرفة ادوية الاختناق بالفطر ولا غيره مما جانسه ، ولا يحتاجون الى معرفة مداواة الحمر ، اذ كان ليس هناك امر غير منتظم . وكذلك اذا استقطوا (1666) الرياضة حدثت عن ذلك امراض كثيرة ، وبين ان ذلك ليس لها ، وعسى ان لا يحتاج

فيها في اكثر مداواة الخلع وما جانسه . وبالجملة الامراض التي اسبابها الغريبة واردة من خارج ، فلا يستطيع البدن الحسن الصحة ان ينهض بنفسه في دفعها ؟ فانه قل شوقه . وكثير من الاصحاء تبرأ جراحهم العظيمة من تلقاء نفسها<sup>1</sup> ، الى اشياء اخر تشهد بذلك . فمن خواص المدينة الكاملة ان لا يكون فيها طبيب ولا قاض ، ومن اللواحق العامة بالمدن الاربع البسيطة ان يفتقر فيها الى طبيب وقاض ، وكما بعدت المدينة عن الكاملة كان الافتقار فيها الى هذين اكثر ، وكان فيها مرتبة هذين الصنفين من الناس اشرف . وبين ان المدينة الفاضلة الكاملة قد أعطى فيها كل انسان افضل ما هو معد نحوه ، وان اراءها كلها صادقة ، وابن الراي كاذب فيها ؟ وان اعمالها هي الفاضلة بالاطلاق وحدها . وان كل عمل غيره فان كان فاضلا ، فبالاضافة الى فساد وجوده . وان قطع عضو من الجسد ضار بذاته ، الا انه قد يكون نافعا بالعرض لمن نهشته افعى ، فيصح بقطعه البدن . وكذلك السقمونيا ضارة بذاتها الا انها نافعة لمن به علة وقد تلخصت هذه الامور في كتاب نقوماخيا . فيبين ان كل راى غير راى اهلها يحدث في المدينة الكاملة فهو كاذب ، وكل عمل يحدث فيها غير الاعمال المعتادة فيها فهو خطأ . وليس للكاذب طبيعة محدودة فلا يمكن ان يعلم الكاذب اصلا ، على ما تبين في كتاب البرهان . واما العمل الخطأ فقد يمكن ان يعمل لينال به غرض اخر ، وقد وضع في الاعمال التي امكن النظر عنها كتب كالحيل لبني شاكر ، فان كل ما فيها لعب واشياء يقصد التعجب بها ، لا مقصد لها في كمال الانسان الذاتي فالقول فيه شرارة وجهل . فاذن ليس يوضع في المدينة الكاملة اقاويل فيمن راى غير راياها او عمل غير عملها . واما في المدن الاربع ، فقد يمكن ذلك ، فانه قد يمكن ان يحل هناك بعمل فيهتدى اليه بالطبع انسان او يتعلمه من اخر فيعمله ، او يكون هناك راى كاذب ، فيشعر بكذبه انسان ما ، او يكون فيها علوم مغلفة لا يعتقدون في شيء منها او في اكثرها ، ما فيها اخذ المتناقضات ، فيقع انسان بالطبع او

<sup>1</sup> لنفسها . MS.

يتعلمه من غيره على صادق المتناقضات . واما من فعل عملا او يعلم علما صوابا ، لم يكن في المدينة ، فليس لهذا الصنف اسم يعمه . فاما من وقع على رأى صادق ، لم يكن في تلك المدينة او كان فيها نقيصة هو المعتقد . فانهم يسمون النوبات وكلما كانت معتقداتهم اكثر واعظم موقعا ، كان هذا الاسم اوقع عليهم . وهذا الاسم يقال عليهم خصوصا وقد يقال بعموم على من هو رأى غير رأى اهل المدينة كيف كان ، صادقا او كاذبا ، ونقل اليهم هذا الاسم من العشب الثابت من تلقاء نفسه بين الزرع . فلنخص نحن بهذا الاسم الذين يرون الاراء الصادقة . فين ان من خواص المدينة الكاملة ان لا يكون فيها نوبات (167a) اذا قيل هذا الاسم بخصوص ، لانه لا اراء كاذبة فيها ، ولا بعموم ، فانه متى كان فقد من طبعه وانتقضت امورها وصارت غير كاملة ؟ والسير الاربع قد يوجد فيها النوبات ووجودهم هو سبب حدوث المدينة الكاملة ، على ما تبين في غير هذا الموضع . ولما كانت جميع السير التي في هذا الزمان وفيما كان قبلها من معظم ما بلغنا خبره ، اللهم الا ما يحكى ابو نصر عن سيرة الفرس الاولى ، فكلها مركبة من السير الخمس ومعظم ما تجده فيها من السير الاربع ، وتلخيص ذلك معرج عنه ، ولم تفرغ الفحص عن السير الموجودة في هذا الزمان ، بل الاصناف الثلاثة فيها موجودون او ممكن وجودهم وهم النوبات<sup>1</sup> والحكام والاطباء . وكان السعداء ان امكن وجودهم في هذه المدن وانما تكون لهم سعادة المفرد ، وصواب التدبير انما يكون تدبير المفرد وسواء كان المفرد واحدا او اكثر من واحد ، ما لم يجتمع على رأيهم امة او مدينة . وهؤلاء<sup>2</sup> هم الذين يعنونهم الصوفية بقولهم الغرباء ، لانهم وان كانوا في اوطانهم وبين اترابهم وحيرانهم غرباء في ارائهم ، قد سافروا بافكارهم الى مراتب اخرى لهم كالاطيان ، الى سائرها يقولونه . ونحن في هذا القول نقصد تدبير هذا الانسان المتوحد . وبين انه قد لحقه امر خارج عن الطبع ، فيقول كيف يتدبر حتى ينال افضل وجوداته ، كما يقوله الطبيب في الانسان

<sup>1</sup> MS. الواه.

<sup>2</sup> In MS. the word هو follows

المريض<sup>1</sup> في هذه المدن، كيف يتدبر<sup>2</sup> حتى يكون صحيحا، اما فان يحفظ صحته كما كتب جالينوس في كتاب حفظ الصحة، واما فان يسترجعها اذا زالت كما وضعت في صناعة الطب. كذلك هذا القول هو للنابت المفرد، وهو كيف ينال السعادة اذا لم تكن موجودة، او كيف يزيل عن نفسه الاعراض التي تمنعه عن السعادة او عن نيل ما يمكنه منها، اما بحسب غاية رويته او بحسب ما استقر في نفسه. واما حفظها فذلك شبيه بحفظ الصحة فلا يمكن في السير الثالث<sup>3</sup> وما تركب منها، فان الذي يراه جالينوس او غيره في ذلك شبيه بالكيمياء وصناعة النجوم. فهذا الذي نضعه طب النفوس وذلك طب الاجسام والحكومة طب المعاشرات. فبين ان هذين الصنفين يسقطان جملة في المدينة الكاملة، فلذلك لم يعدا في العلوم. كذلك يسقط هذا الذي يقوله: متى كانت المدينة كاملة، وتسقط منفعة هذا القول كما يسقط علم الطب وصناعة القضاء وغير ذلك من الصنائع التي استنبطت بحسب التدبير الناقص. وكما ان ما في ذلك من الاراء الصادقة، يرجع<sup>4</sup> ما في الطب منها الى الصنائع الطبيعية وما في صناعة القضاء فيرجع الى صناعة المدنية، كذلك ما في هذا يرجع ما فيه الى الصناعة الطبيعية والصناعة المدنية.

فصل. كل حي فانه يشارك الجمادات في امور، وكل حيوان فانه يشارك الحي في فقط في امور، وكل انسان فانه يشارك الحيوان غير الناطق في امور، فالحي والجماد يشتركان فيما يوجد الاسطقس الذي ركبا منه، وذلك مثل الهبوط الى اسفل طوعا والصعود الى فوق قهرا وما جانس ذلك. وكذلك يشارك الحيوان (167b) الحي في هذه اذ هما من اسطقس واحد، ويشاركه ايضا بالنفس العادمة والمولدة والثانية في افعالها. وكذلك يشارك الانسان الحيوان غير الناطق في كل هذه ويشاركه ايضا في الحس والخيلة والذكر والافعال التي توجد له عن هذه، وهي النفس البهيمية، ويمتاز عن جميع هذه الاصناف بالقوة الفكرية وما لا يكون الا بها.

<sup>1</sup> المتفرد. For MS.

<sup>2</sup> سوجد. For MS.

<sup>3</sup> اللاب. MS.

<sup>4</sup> الى. MS. adds.

فذلك يوجد له التذكر ولا يوجد لغيره . وقد استقصى ما تبين به الانسان للحيوان غير الناطق .

فالانسان لانه من الاسطقات فتلقه الافعال الضرورية التي لا اختيار له فيها ، كالهبوط<sup>1</sup> من فوق والاحتراق بالنار وما جانه ، ومنه مشاركته للحى من وجه فقط . وهو النبات تلحقه ايضا الافعال التي لا اختيار له<sup>2</sup> فيها اصلا كالاختيار . وقد يقع في هذه ضرب من الضرورة مثل ما يفعل الانسان عن الخوف الشديد ، مثل شتم الصديق وقتل الاخ والاب على امر مملك . وهذه فلا اختيار<sup>3</sup> فيها موقع . وقد لخصت هذه كلها في نيقوماخيا . وكل ما يوجد للانسان بالطبع ويختص به من الافعال ، فهي باختيار . وكل فعل يوجد للانسان باختياره ، فلا يوجد لغيره من انواع الاجسام ، والافعال الانسانية الخاصة به هي ما تكون باختيار . فكل ما يفعله الانسان باختيار ، فهو فعل انساني ، وكل فعل انساني فهو فعل باختيار . واعنى بالاختيار الارادة الكائنة عن روية . واما الالهامات واللقاء في الروع وبالجملة ولافعالات العقلية ، ان جاز ان يكون في العقل افعال يشارك الانسان ، فان الانسان يختص بها . وانما احتيج الى اشراط الاختيار في الافعال التي من جهة النفس البهيمية ، فان الحيوان غير الناطق انما يتقدم فعله ما يحدث في النفس البهيمية من افعال ، والانسان قد يفعل ذلك من هذه الجهة كما يهرب الانسان من مفزع . فان هذا الفعل هو للانسان من جهة النفس البهيمية . ومثل من يكسر حجرا ضربه وعودا خدشه لانه خدشه فقط ، وهذه كلها افعال بهيمية . فاما من يكسره لثلا يخدش غيره او عن روية وجب كسره ، فذلك فعل انساني ، فكل فعل يفعله لا لينال به عوضا<sup>4</sup> غير فعل ذلك الفعل ، او من جهة انه لا ينال به غرضا ، فان كان له غرض ينال به لم يلحظه ، فذلك الفعل بهيمي وفعله عن النفس البهيمية فقط .

<sup>1</sup> For MS. كالقوى.

<sup>2</sup> MS. لما with له in margin.

<sup>3</sup> MS. فلاختيار.

<sup>4</sup> MS. غرضا. Read عوضا or perhaps غرضا.

مثال ذلك ان آكلا ان اكل القراسيا لتشهيهِ اياه فاتفق له عن ذلك ان يلان<sup>1</sup> بطنه وقد كان محتاجا اليه ، فان ذلك فعل بهيمى ، وهو فعل انساني بالعرض . وان اكله المتعقل الطبع لا لتشهيهِ اياه بل لتلين بطنه ، واتفق مع ذلك ان كان شهيا عنده ، فان ذلك فعل انساني ، وهو بهيمى بالعرض ، وذلك انه عرض النافع ان كان ميبا . فالفعل البهيمى هو الذى يتقدمه فى النفس الانفعال النفساني فقط ، مثل التشهى او الغضب او الخوف وما شاكله . والانسانى هو ما يتقدمه امر يوجبه عند فاعله الفكر ، سواء تقدم الفكر افعال نفساني او اعقب الفكر ذلك . (168a) بل اذا كان المحرك للانسان ما اوجبه الفكر ، من جهة ما اوجبه الفكر او ما جانس ذلك ، سواء كانت الفكرة يقينة او مظنونة ، فالبهيمى المحرك فيه ما يحدث فى النفس البهيمية من الافعال ، فالانسانى هو المحرك فيه ما يوجد فى النفس من راي او اعتقاد .

ومعظم افعال الانسان فى السير الاربع والمركب منها هو ايضا من بهيمى وانسانى . وقل ما يوجد البهيمى خلوا من الانسانى لانه لابد للانسان اذا كان على الحال الطبيعية فى اكثر الامر الا فى النادر ، وان كان سبب حركته الانفعال ، ان يفكر كيف يفعل ذلك ، ولذلك يستخدم البهيمى فيه الجزء الانسانى ليجد فعله . فاما الانسانى فقد يوجد خلوا من البهيمى ، والتطبيب داخل فى هذا الصنف ، ولكن فى هذه قد يصحبها انفعال فى النفس البهيمية ، وان كان معاونا للرأى كان النهوض اليه أكثر واقوى ، وان كان مخالفا كان النهوض اضعف واقل . فاما من يفعل الفعل لاجل الرأى والصواب فلا يلتفت الى النفس البهيمية ولا ما يحدث فيها ، فذلك الانسان اخلق به ان يكون فعله ذلك اهليا من ان يكون انسانيا . فلذلك يجب ان يكون هذا الانسان فاضلا بالفضائل الشكلية ، حتى يكون متى قضت النفس الناطقة بشيء ، لم تحالف النفس البهيمية بل قضت بذلك الامر ، من جهة ان الرأى قضى به . وكون النفس البهيمية بهذه الحال هو نيلها الفضائل الشكلية ، فان الفضائل

<sup>1</sup> Or simply لان .



الشكلية إنما هي بها من النفس البهيمية<sup>1</sup>. ولذلك كان الإنسان الالهي ضرورة فاضلا بالفضائل الشكلية، فانه إن لم يكن فاضلا بهذه الفضائل وخالفت النفس البهيمية فيه الفعل، كان ذلك الفعل اما ناقصا او محروما او لم يكن اصلا، وكان عند فعله ذلك الفعل مكرها، وكان عسيرا عليه، لان النفس البهيمية سامعة مطيعة للنفس الناطقة بالطبع، الا في الإنسان الذي هو على غير المجرى الطبيعي مثل السبع في<sup>2</sup> الاخلاق. فلذلك من افراط عليه الغضب اشبه في هذا الوقت السبع في الاخلاق. فلذلك من كانت نفسه البهيمية تغلب نفسه الناطقة حتى يكون نهض عن شهوته الخالفة لرايه دائما، فهو انسان سواء البهيمة خير منه، وما احسن ما قيل فيه انه بهيمة لكن له فكرة انسان، يجعل بها ذلك الفعل. فلذلك تكون فكرته عند ذلك شرا زائدا في شره، كالغذ الجمود في البدن السقيم، كما يقوله ابقراط: البدن الرديء كلما غدوته زدته شرا، وقد لحصنا هذا فيما كتبناه في شرح السابعة من السماع وقضياه<sup>3</sup> هناك. وقد تين ما الفعل الانساني وما الفعل البهيمي وما الفعل الجمادي، وهذه جميع الافعال التي توجد للانسان، وكل واحد من هذه جنس لما تحته. فالفعل الجمادي ظاهر انه اضطرارا لا اختيارا فيه كما قلناه، فليس لشيء اصلا. ولذلك ليس لنا ان لا نفعله، لان الحركة فيه ليس من تلقائنا، والفعل البهيمي هو ايضا لا من اجل شيء الا انه من تلقائنا. ولذلك لنا ان نقف متى شئنا. فظاهر انه اذاً انما يجب ان تحد الغايات في الافعال الانسانية فقط.

#### THE RULE OF THE SOLITARY

The expression "rule" in the language of the Arabs is used in several senses, which have been enumerated by their philologists. It commonly indicates in general the organization of actions with reference to ends proposed. Hence they do not use it when a man does a single action in which he proposes some end or other. If a man thinks of it as a single action he does not employ the word

<sup>1</sup> So MS. Perhaps الناطقة. <sup>2</sup> For في السبع MS. has السعي. <sup>3</sup> MS. مضاه.

"rule", whereas if he thinks of it as manifold and takes it as admitting of organization, this organization is called rule. Hence they say of the Deity that He is the Ruler of the universe. This is sometimes potential and sometimes actual. The expression "rule" most commonly indicates potential rule. It is clear that when rule<sup>1</sup> exists in things potentially, it does so in a thought, for this is characteristic of thought and is not possible except through it. Hence it can only be for man. When "ruler" is applied to a thing it only resembles rule, and the word is a metaphor.

Sometimes "rule" is applied to bringing this organization into existence, in so far as it is created. This is commonest and most apparent in the actions of men, less so in the case of dumb animals. When rule is spoken of in this sense it is spoken of in general and in particular. Used generally, it is applied to all man's actions, of whatever quality they are. This means it is applied to the weak as well as to the strong, though most commonly to the strong. Hence (165b) it is applied to the organization of military affairs, but not usually to the arts of shoe-making or weaving. While it is applied in this way it may have another general and special sense. It is used in a general sense for all the actions comprised under the arts called strong, as I have sketched in the Political Science. In the special sense it is applied to the rule of cities. Among the things to which the term "rule" is applied, there is an order of precedence in respect of honour and perfection. The noblest of such things is the rule of cities and the rule of the home. It is rarely applied in the latter case unless the rule of the home with indulgence and strictness is meant. Rule of war and so on fall under these two categories. God's rule of the world is rule in another sense, far removed from the nearest of the kindred meanings. It is absolute rule, and is the noblest, for one does not speak of rule except in cases where a similarity is thought to exist with God's creation of the universe. Clearly it is the sort of conventional term about which there is least agreement, yet with a common element. Most people use it conventionally, but the philosophers stress the common element, reckoning it conventional only in so far as we call a thing by the name of what it resembles. This type is not specified among conventional terms because of its rarity, hence it does not occur.<sup>2</sup> Most people agree that the Deity rules with

<sup>1</sup> Translating التدير.

<sup>2</sup> Text and translation of this and the foregoing sentences are not certain.

justice, and say of the rule of the world that it is just rule, describing it as firm, ordered rule—and similar expressions. These expressions imply the existence of the just and something else which is nobler still.<sup>1</sup> For the just act in the opinion of most people is as it were the genus of the ordered and firm act. The detail of this is to be found elsewhere.

Rule when used absolutely as we have used it indicates the rule of cities. Or it implies strictness, for it is divided into right and wrong. It is sometimes thought that rule may be without these two contraries. But when the question is thoroughly considered, evidently these two contraries necessarily adhere to it. This consideration is strange to those who have less closely examined political philosophy. So the two types which have the special name "rule" applied to them are divided into right and wrong. Plato has made clear the nature of the rule of cities in the *Republic*. He has made clear what the meaning of right is in respect of it, and whence the wrong adheres to it. He has taken pains to discuss what we have already spoken of, and has defined virtue and ignorance and vice.

As to the rule of the home in so far as it is a home it belongs to a city. He has there made clear that this natural<sup>2</sup> home is for man only. He has made clear that the best existence for what is a part is its existence as a part. Thus he has not made the rule of the home part of the *Republic*,<sup>3</sup> since it has been spoken of in the *Politics*. He has there made clear what the home is and how it exists, and that its best existence is that it should be held in common, and how it should be held in common.<sup>4</sup> As to the home in the imperfect city, i.e. in four cities which are enumerated,<sup>5</sup> its existence is imperfect and there is an unnatural element in it. That home only is perfect in which no increase is possible, lest it may turn to loss like a sixth finger. For it is characteristic of what is exactly right that an increase is (166a) loss. Compared with it the other homes are defective and diseased. For the conditions which are in

<sup>1</sup> So apparently شريف بزائد له.

<sup>2</sup> طباعى. The word apparently = طبعى; cf. العلم الطباعى repeatedly in the *Ittiṣālu'l-'Aql bi'l-Insān* = natural science.

<sup>3</sup> The correction السياسة seems necessary, but the passage remains obscure.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Aristotle's *Politics* (i, 3 seq.), here apparently ascribed to Plato. There seems to have been no Arabic version of the *Politics*, however.

<sup>5</sup> Sc. in the *Republic*.

contrast with the ideal home lead to its destruction and ruin. Hence they are like a disease.

We now speak about the regulation of these defective homes, viz. the diseased, which people have undertaken to discuss. Their books on the rule of the home have reached us, and what they say is eloquent. What has already been said by us makes clear that apart from the ideal home, homes are diseased. All are distorted. They exist not by nature but only by convention. Hence their merits are only conventional, unless indeed where they share the advantage of the ideal home. What is said about this is obvious, well-known, and necessary. What is said of the part shared is scientific, understand. When it is not possible for a home to have many things in common with the ideal home—if a home is without this—it cannot last, and never was a home except by sharing the name. So let us leave the discussion of it, and make way for any who will undertake the discussion of existing things some time or other.

Further, as the perfection of the home does not essentially belong to the purpose, only the perfection of the city or the natural end of man is aimed at by it. It is clear that to discuss it is part of the discussion on man's rule of himself. From whichever point of view you please, either it refers to a city and to discuss it is part of the discussion of cities, or it is a secondary aim for another end and to discuss it is part of the discussion of that end. From this it is clear that the discussion of the rule of the home, as is well known, has no advantage and is not a science, or if it is such, only at a particular time. This we may see from the literary works of clever men which they call psychological, such as *Katilah wa-Dimnah* or *Ḥukamā'u'l-'Arab* (the Wise Men of the Arabs), containing precepts and prose discourses. It is usually found in some parts of the book, e.g. in the chapters on how to be on friendly terms with the Sultan, how to live with one's equals, and so on. Most of this is only true at a particular time and during a current fashion. When the fashion passes the opinions which had universal application change, and they become odd after having been universal, and harmful or valueless instead of useful. That you will understand when you have read what is written in the books on the subject. No opinion is of any use at a later date.

Because the ideal city is specially characterized by the absence of the arts of the doctor and the qadi, love being the strongest

bond between them, there is no contention at all. When a part of it is lacking in love and contention occurs, justice must be established, and inevitably someone to dispense it, viz. the qadi, is required. Further, all actions in the ideal city are right, this being its special characteristic which it never lacks. Hence its people will not indulge in harmful foods. Therefore they will not need knowledge of remedies for choking at the breaking of the fast nor anything else of the kind, nor remedies for excessive drinking, since nothing not properly in order is there. Similarly when people give up (166b) exercise, numerous diseases arise in consequence. Clearly this does not apply to our city. It may also be that there will be no need in it for most of the remedies for dislocation and the like. In general, cannot the healthy body rouse itself to resist diseases whose obscure causes come from outside? For its desire is not great. The severe wounds of many people of sound health are cured of themselves—with numerous instances of the same kind. And so a special characteristic of the ideal city is that there is neither doctor nor qadi, while among the traits of the four simple cities is their need of both. The further removed from the ideal, the more a city needs them, and the more honourable is the rank of both these classes. Plainly in the perfect city a man is given the best of which he is capable, and all its views are true. How could a view in it be false? Its actions alone are ideal in the absolute sense, and every other action, even if excellent, is in relation to the corruption of its existence. If a limb is cut from the body, it is essentially harmful, though incidentally it may be advantageous to one whom an adder has stung, and his body is relieved by cutting it off. Similarly scammony is essentially harmful, though useful for one who is ill. A short account of these matters has been given in the Nicomachean Ethics. It is clear that every view except the view of its people which appears in the perfect city is false, and every action which takes place in it, except the customary actions, is wrong. Now the false has no definite nature and cannot be known at all, as is shown in the *Book of the Proof*. As for wrong action, it is possible that it should take place in order to obtain some other aim. Books have been written on the actions which may possibly be considered, such as the *Book of Ingenious Devices* of the Banū Shākir. All the contents of these are diversion<sup>1</sup> and sensational

<sup>1</sup> Ruska in 1923 made a similar remark about the inventions of the Banū Mūsā b. Shākir in the *Book of Ingenious Devices*. *Isis*, v, 208.



matters. Their purpose is not the essential perfection of man, and what is said contains depravity and ignorance. So then there are not composed in the ideal city discourses dealing with those who think and act differently. That is possible in the four other types of state, for permission may there be given for an action, and a man may be led to it by his nature or learn it from another and do it, or a false view may there appear and some man perceive its falsehood, or erroneous sciences may there exist which they do not at all believe in, or disbelieve in much of them, so many contradictions having been found in them, and a man comes naturally to or learns from another the truth of the contradictions. As for the man who acts honestly and has right knowledge, there is none such in the city nor any general name for this type of person. As for the man who has reached a true opinion, of him too there is no example in the city, or as holding it, he is a blot on the city. These people are called "weeds", and wherever their views are extensively found, this name is applied to them. The name is given to them particularly, and in general to the man whose view is not the view of the people of the city, true or false. It is transferred to them from the plants which spring up of themselves among the sown crop. Let us restrict it to those whose opinions are correct. Clearly it is a characteristic of the ideal city that there should be no "weeds" in it (167a) using the word in its special sense, for there are no false views therein, nor in the general sense, for when does it lose its nature and become spoiled and cease to be perfect? In the four other types the "weeds" may indeed be found. Their existence is the reason for the emergence of the ideal city, as is made clear elsewhere.

Now since all the types of state at present and in the past, according to the greatest part of what has come down to us, unless indeed what Abū Naṣr<sup>1</sup> tells of the type of the primitive Persians, are compounded of the five types, indeed most of what you find is made up of the four, the detail of this has been omitted, and we have not completed the investigation of all the types existing at present, but only the three classes therein which can and do exist, viz. the "weeds", the qadis, and the doctors. If happy people can exist at all in these towns they have only the happiness of the isolated unit, and the just rule is the rule of the isolated individual only, equally whether the isolated individual is one or more than

<sup>1</sup> Sc. al-Farābī.



one, so long as neither nation nor city shares their view. These are they whom the Sufis mean when they speak of "strangers", for, say they, even in their own countries and among their fellows and neighbours they are strangers in their opinions and travel in their thoughts to other levels which are as it were their own countries—and so on. We, too, in this essay have in mind the rule of the solitary man. It is clear that something unnatural has got hold of him. He speaks of how he is to manage in order to achieve his best existence, just as the doctor in the case of the sick man in these cities speaks of how he is to manage in order that the patient may become well, either through preserving the patient's health, as Galen wrote in the *Book of the Preservation of Health*, or restoring it when it has ceased to exist, as I have laid down in the *Art of Medicine*. Similarly these words are appropriate to the solitary "weed", viz. how he is to obtain happiness when it does not exist, or how he is to eliminate from himself the accidents which prevent him from happiness or from securing as much as is possible for him, either in respect of the end of his reflexion or in respect of tranquillity of soul. Preserving happiness is like preserving health. It is not possible in the three <sup>1</sup> types of state or what is composed of them. The views of Galen or others on this are like alchemy and astrology.<sup>2</sup> The one we assume to be the art of curing souls, while the other is the cure of bodies, and government is the cure of societies. It is clear that the last two sorts are rejected altogether in the perfect city, and hence they are not reckoned among the sciences. Similarly the saying "When the city is perfect" is eliminated, the sense of this expression disappearing just as the science of medicine and the art of the qadi disappear, as well as other arts which developed on account of the imperfect rule. As in the one case all true views of medicine on one hand may be referred to the natural arts, and of the qadi's art on the other hand to the art of politics, so in this other all is referred to the natural art and the art of politics.

Section. Since every plant shares certain qualities with inanimate beings, and every animal shares certain qualities with the plant only, and every man shares certain qualities with the dumb animal, the plant and the inanimate object share that in which subsists the element of which they are both compounded. This is like the

<sup>1</sup> A slip for "four" probably.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. illusory.

fact that to descend is spontaneous, while to ascend involves effort, and the like. Similarly the animal shares (167b) these things with the plant, since both are of one element, and shares with it also the defective, unreal soul which is secondary in its actions. Similarly man shares all these things with the dumb animal, and also sensation, imagination, remembrance, and the acts connected with them. These make up the animal soul. He is distinguished from all these kinds by the reflective power and what exists in it alone. Therefore he possesses memory, which nothing else does. So now the distinction between man and the animal has been demonstrated.

Because man is composed of elements he is inseparably connected with necessary actions where he has no free choice, such as falling from above, being burned with fire, and so on. Hence is his community, on one side, with the plant, viz. that the plant too is inseparably connected with actions in which it has no choice at all, such as its shrinking back. What occurs in these cases is a kind of necessity, like what a man does in extreme fear, similarly upbraiding a friend, killing a brother and a father for what he possesses, and so on. In these acts free will does not occur. An account of all this is given in the Nicomachean Ethics. All that exists naturally for man and is characteristic of him in respect of actions is with free will. Every action which exists for man with free will exists for no other of the different kinds of corporate beings. Specifically human acts are with free will. So everything man does with free will is a human act, and every human act is an act with free will. I mean by free will the wish that proceeds from reflexion. As to instincts, being frightened and in general, and the intellectual impressions, it is possible for there to be in the intellect an impression which man shares, for this is a special characteristic of his. It is only necessary to have the rudiments of free will in actions on the part of the animal soul. For in the case of the dumb animal only the impression made on the animal soul precedes its action. Man acts sometimes thus, as when he runs away from a place of safety. This action of a man proceeds from the animal soul. When, for example, someone breaks a stone which has struck him, or a piece of wood which has scratched him, only because he was hurt, all such actions are animal. The man who breaks it in order that it may not scratch another, or from reflection that it ought to be broken, does a human action. Any action which one does, either without achieving any return except the mere doing of it, or without

aiming at any other result and if any accrues, one did not have it in mind, is an animal action, performed by the animal soul only.

Thus if a glutton eats cherries because he wants to, and gets a purge thereby such as he requires, that is an animal action, and a human action incidentally. If an intelligent man eats them, not because he wants to but to take a purge, and it happens at the same time that they are desirable in his eyes, then it is a human action, and animal incidentally, for the advantage<sup>1</sup> is incidental, if really a cause. The animal action is what is preceded in the soul by psychological impressions only, such as desire, anger, fear, and the like. The human action is what is preceded by something necessitated in the agent by thought, whether a psychological impression preceded the thought or supervened upon it. (168a) But while the man's motive is what thought necessitated, in so far as thought or something of the kind did necessitate it, whether the thought was true or imaginary, the motive in the animal action is the impressions which occur in the animal soul. The human motive is the idea or belief existing in the soul.

The most of a man's acts in the four types of state and combinations of them are composed further of a mixture of human and animal motives. The animal motive rarely appears apart from the human, because a man in the natural state is bound practically always except in very unusual circumstances, even if the cause of his movement is an impression, to think how he is to do it. Therefore the human part makes use of the animal nature in him to obtain the action. The human sometimes appears apart from the animal motive. To undergo medical treatment belongs to this class. But in these cases an impression on the animal soul may accompany them. If it supports the idea, the impulse to the action is more pronounced and emphatic, while if it contradicts it, the impulse is weaker and less emphatic.

The man who does an action for the sake of the idea and truth and does not consider the animal soul nor what arises in it, deserves more that his action should be classed as divine than human. Hence this man must be virtuous with the formal virtues, unless it is that when the articulate soul determines on a course of action, the animal soul does not oppose it but decides upon it since reason has decided upon it. The being of the animal soul in this situation is its acquiring the formal virtues. For the formal virtues are in it

<sup>1</sup> So. the enjoyment of eating the cherries.

through the articulate<sup>1</sup> soul. Hence the divine man is of necessity virtuous with the formal virtues, for if he is not virtuous with these virtues and the animal soul opposes his action, this action will either be defective or forbidden or non-existent altogether, and he will be constrained in the doing of the action, which will be difficult for him, because the animal soul hearkens to and obeys the articulate soul naturally, except in the man who follows an unnatural course like a savage beast. Hence the man overcome by anger is then a savage beast. Hence when a man's soul has overcome his articulate soul till he rises up from his desire continually contrary to his reason, he is a man—or rather a beast is better than he, and it is well said of him that he is a beast with the thought of a man, by which he does this action. Hence in that case his thought is a growing evil, like the matter which accumulates in a sick body. As Hippocrates says: When a sick body develops a disease, the remedy makes it worse. We have dealt with this in detail in the *Commentary on the Seventh of the Art of Hearing*, and have completed it there.

It is now clear what the human, animal, and inorganic actions respectively are. These are all the actions which exist for man. Each one of them is a genus with subordinate cases. The inorganic action evidently is by necessity, without free will, as we have said, and is not on account of something else. Hence it is not in our power not to do it, because the movement in it is not spontaneously from ourselves. The animal action also is not for the sake of something else, though it is spontaneous. Hence we have the power to stop when we wish. So it is clear, this being so, that the ends must be defined only in human actions.

<sup>1</sup> Translating الناطقة.

## Theology in the Making

By A. S. TRITTON

MUSLIM theology was helped in its growth by the disputes of Muslims with Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, philosophers, and with one another. There are many tales of these arguments and they reveal something of the atmosphere of early Islam. Most of them concern heretics.

Abu'l-Hudhail († c. A.D. 849) was a miser and had an era of his own; things happened either before or after the day he gave a capon to Muwais. Further, he would rather have been ignorant and famous than learned and unknown, rather stingy and respected than generous and despised. In Samarra he lived in one room till he could find a suitable house; when a friend showed surprise at his choosing such quarters he quoted: "They say that the saddle sets off the man; know that the rider adorns the saddle."

A Jew overcame all the theologians of Basra in debate and then Abu'l-Hudhail, though quite young, insisted on meeting him. The Jew asked what he thought of Moses and the Law. He silenced the questioner by saying that if they were the Moses and the Law mentioned in the Koran he accepted the one as a prophet and the other as true. A Magian said that the fire was a messenger of God, cattle were angels whose wings had been clipped that men might put them to the plough, water was God's light, hunger and thirst the devil's misery and poverty, and that the world was upheld by an angel named Bahman. Abu'l-Hudhail retorted: "These men kill angels, wash them in God's light, roast them on his messenger, put them into the devil's poverty, and skin them on a great angel." The Magian had no answer. Abu'l-Hudhail was asked to prove that the world was created, without using motion and rest as arguments. He replied: "You are like the litigant who told his adversary to come before the judge but to leave his evidence at home." To one who denied the existence of motion, he quoted the Koran which orders one hundred lashes to be given to the adulterer and eighty to the slanderer. He went on: "One hundred is bigger than eighty by twenty. Is the flogging the hand of the executioner? or the whip? the culprit's back? or the space between the whip and the back? The flogging is none of these. Then nothing is bigger than nothing by twenty!"



He asked Hisham ibn al-Hakam († A.D. 794 or 814) why he maintained that a quality is not the thing in which it inheres but yet is not distinct from it. The answer ran:—"Because my act cannot be myself and cannot be other than myself, for change occurs only in bodies and self-existent things. My act is not self-existent. You advance another reason. You say that movement is neither contact nor separateness because, as you say, these cannot apply to it. So I say that a quality is not myself and not other than myself. My reason for its being not myself and not other than myself is the same as your reason for saying that movement is not contact and not separateness." (The early Muslims had great difficulty in defining movement.)

Asked when the sweetness of sleep was perceived he could not answer, for during sleep reason is absent and what has not yet come into being and what has ceased to be cannot produce effects. The man who put the question gave the answer: "Drowsiness is a disease and the cure is sleep."

A man tried to amuse one of the 'Abbasid family by tricking Hisham, who was one of the Shi'a, into saying that 'Ali was a criminal. He asked him which was in the wrong, 'Ali or 'Abbas, when they took a case to Abu Bakr for decision, reckoning that Hisham could not say 'Abbas for fear of his descendant, and not 'Ali, for that would be the denial of his faith. He got out of the trap by recalling the tale in the Koran of two angels who stated a case to David to test him, not because either of them had done wrong. Another debate ran thus:—

"What proof have you that the world is not eternal?"

"Movement and rest."

"These are part of the world; so this answer means that the world itself is proof that its being is only contingent."

"Your question is part of the world. Bring me a question from outside the world and I will bring a proof from outside it."

A Magian said: "If I try to put my hand outside the world is there anything to push it back?"

Hisham said: "There is nothing to put your hand into."

In another discussion Hisham said: "We are on the edge of the world; I cannot see anything, though there is no darkness to prevent me; you cannot see anything because there is no light. If our religions cancel out in the contradiction, they do not cancel



out in denying that there is anything outside the world." In another debate Hisham asked if God and the devil were equal, and the Magian assented. He then asked if they were of one substance. The Magian could not reply, for if equal and of one substance they must be identical. Hisham's argument that, if one God can create the world, there is no need of two, struck one dualist as quite a new idea. Another argument was that, if an evil-doer repents of his evil, his penitence is a good deed; so both good and bad deeds proceed from the same person. To the question: "Can God in his goodness and righteousness ask of us what we cannot perform and then punish us for not doing it?" Hisham replied: "He has done so and we can say nothing."

A Magian was asked: "Why do you not turn Muslim?"

"I shall when God wills."

"He does will it but the devil will not suffer it."

"I side with the stronger."

The unorthodox theologian Nazzam († A.D. 845) was a poet, could see a joke, but could not keep a secret. "Nazzam is sweeter than safety after danger, health after sickness, and plenty after famine." He was asked suddenly: "What is the defect in glass?" "It is quickly broken and cannot be mended." The man who put the question said (he seems to have been easily pleased): "It is not right that such a man should be in the world." A slave girl said: "But for the bitterness of separation I had not tasted the sweetness of union; and he who condemns the beginning of anger, praises the final contentment." The caliph declared that that phrase would have done credit to Nazzam. He believed in omens till he went on a journey which began with several bad portents but ended successfully. Report makes him a drunkard and adds that to please a Christian youth he wrote a book to prove the doctrine of the Trinity is better than unitarianism. Here are samples of his poetry:—

*I went on taking the spirit of the wineskin gently and declaring lawful blood which does not come from a wound*

*Till I was drunk and had two spirits in my body. The wineskin was left without one.*

Again:—

*You, who leave me a body without a heart, have been thorough in quitting and going afar.*

*If eyes prevent you from visiting me, come to me as one who visits the sick*

*That I may see you ; this is the greatest kindness ; by it your hands master the art of companionship.*

*If eyes sin against hearts, the harm falls on bodies.*

Some taught that qualities might be latent in bodies. So it was argued that he, who maintains that fire is not latent in stone or wood, must maintain there is no oil in olives till they are crushed. This leads to the assertion that there is no blood in an animal's body till it is wounded. In other words, to deny that wormwood is bitter in substance and honey sweet before they are tasted is like denying that oil is in olives before they are pressed. If it is objected that honey is a substance and sweetness a quality, then the same applies to other qualities like the blackness of soot which does not exist till it is seen !

Ash'ari († A.D. 935) held that life could exist without any organism. He argued that in an organism one life would inhere in two atoms (which is impossible by definition) or there was one life in each atom. This involves that each life was conditioned by every other in the same body ; but two things cannot be at once both cause and effect of each other. It was wrong to say that life in the first atom was the cause of life in the second for there was no reason for making one superior to the other.

Abu Hanifa († A.D. 767) asked Shaitan al-Taḡ if it was true that the Shi'a broke the left hands of their dead (so that at the Judgment they cannot take their "book" in it). At once he riposted : "Do you pour water through a funnel into your dead that they may not suffer from thirst at the Judgment ?"

"The Murji, the Kadari (sects of Islam), and the Zindiq, who does not believe in the Koran, argue successfully from it, so I saw that it is not the proof of God but needs someone to use it aright—'Ali and his successors."

Hisham asked what was the use of the organs of sense and was told, of course, that the eye was to see with, the tongue to speak with, and so on. His hearers admitted that the mind co-ordinated the sensation so received and without it the senses would be of little use. "This is the function of the imam in the affairs of men." A man stated that he had never had to use his whole mind in argument except with an upholder of free will. The question,

"What is wrong-doing?" was answered by, "Taking what is not yours." The speaker retorted: "All belongs to God."

Abu'l-Hudhail shocked the unimaginative by saying that fifty doubts are better than one belief. He paid a visit of condolence to one whose son had died. The father lamented that the son had never read his father's book *Doubt* which would have taught him to doubt everything—even his own existence. Abu'l-Hudhail recommended him to read his own book, for then he would doubt that he had ever had a son and so have no cause to lament.

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## Tables of Reference to Tibetan Dictionaries

By E. H. C. WALSH

THE great difficulty of the Tibetan language is the spelling. This may appear strange in a monosyllabic language, but is due to there being five Prefixes (སྔོན་རྒྱ་ *sngön-jug*), ག་ *ga*, ཏ་ *da*, བ་ *ba*, མ་ *ma*, ཁ་ *ha*, and four Head-Letters (མགོ་ཡིག་ *Go Yig*), ར་ *ra*, ལ་ *la*, ས་ *sa*, which also precede the principal letter, and one sub-scribed letter, འ་ *wa*, which follows it, which are none of them sounded; and also that certain combinations of letters are pronounced differently to their spelling, namely the principal letters ཏ་ *pa* and བ་ *ba* followed by ཡ་ *ya* are pronounced as *cha*; most of the principal letters when followed by ར་ *ra* are pronounced as *ta* or *da*; and མ་ *za* followed by ལ་ *la* is pronounced as *da*.

The only case in which the Prefixes and Head-Letters are pronounced is by liaison when they occur in the second component word of a composite word of which the first component word ends in a vowel, e.g. བཅུ་བརྟེ་ *bchu-bzhi* ("fourteen") is pronounced *chubshi*, and བཞི་བཅུ་ ("forty") is pronounced as *shibchu*; and རྡོ་རྗེ་ *rdo-rje* ("thunderbolt") is pronounced as *dorje*.

Consequently words of the same sound may be spelt in a variety of different ways. To take a few examples from Gould and Richardson's book *Tibetan Syllables*, which is reviewed on another page of this *Journal*, the phonetic syllable *Nga* is spelt in six different ways, *Ke* in ten, *Nye* in eleven, and *She* in thirteen. The Tibetans are, necessarily, very particular about the correct spelling, since any mistake would entirely change the meaning of a word. Lama Ugyen Gyatsho, in 1902, told me of a case which he had heard of some years before, in which the Jong-pon of an outlying Jong wrote to Lhasa for some incense (རྩི་ *dri*) which he required for the temple of the Jong. His secretary spelt the word གྲི་ *gri* "a sword", also pronounced *dri*. The Lhasa authorities were, naturally, curious to know what the swords were required for, and sent to investigate, when the mistake was discovered and the secretary was taken to Lhasa and his right thumb was cut off to teach him to be more careful in his spelling. Lama Ugyan Gyatsho did not

remember the name of the Jong, but vouched for the correctness of the story.

The Tibetans spell not only letter by letter, but also giving the phonetic sound after each combination of letters. Every Tibetan letter, unless one of the vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* is attached, includes the sound of *a* (*ah*). The five Prefixed Letters are pronounced in spelling in their diminutive form: thus ཁ་ *ga-hu*, ད་ *da-hu*, བ་ *ba-hu*, ས་

*ma-hu*, འ་ *ha-hu*. The five vowels are ཨ་ *a*, ཨི་ *i* (named ཁི་བྱ་ *pr.*

*ki-ku*); ཨུ་ *u* (named ཤམ་ཀྱ་ *pr.* *shap-kyu*), ཨེ་ *e* (named འབྲང་བྱ་

*drang-bu*), and ཨོ་ *o* (named *na-ro*). The Subjoined Letters are called བཅགས་ *btags*, pronounced *ta*, namely "fastened on". Thus a

Tibetan spells the word བཞེས་ *bgyes* "elder" as follows: "*ba-hu, ga-ra-ta, dra; dra-deng-po, dre; dre-sa, drē*" (to show that the final *s* lengthens the vowel *e*). Similarly སྟན་ *spyān* "eye" is spelt "*sa-pa-ta, pa; pa-ya-ta, cha; cha-na, chen*"; and བརྒྱུད་ *brgyud* "progeny" "*bahu, ra-ga-ta, ga; ga-ya-ta, gya; gya-shap-kyu, gyu; gyu-da, gyüd*."

Gould and Richardson give a "Key-Number" to the words in their *Tibetan Word Book* and in *Tibetan Syllables* (p. x) give the following Rule for Reference to the Tibetan Dictionaries.

"A rule of thumb for quick reference to Sarat Chandra Das's *Dictionary* is to divide the key-number by three and turn on another 80 pages for key numbers round about 2,700, but proportionately less as the key numbers recede from 2,700. For reference to Jäschke's *Dictionary* (reprint, 1934) divide the key number by six and turn back about 35 pages."

Apart from the fact that this system involves an arithmetical calculation in the case of each reference, the result is, naturally, only approximate, owing to the difference in the number of words beginning with the different letters.

More than forty years ago I compiled, for my own use, a Table of Reference to each of the Dictionaries, and have found them invaluable. The table gives the number of the page on which the first entry of each combination of letters occurs. And if tabs giving the number of the page be attached to the Dictionary at each 50 pages (or oftener if desired), the word can be turned up with little trouble.



TABLE OF REFERENCE TO SARAT CHANDRA DAS'S TIBETAN DICTIONARY

	1	VOWELS				SUBJOINED			PREFIXES					SUPERSCRIBED		
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	Page	ᠠ I	ᠤ U	ᠡ E	ᠦ O	ᠶ Y	ᠷ R	ᠯ L	ᠭ G	ᠳ D	ᠪ B	ᠮ M	ᠬ H	ᠷ R	ᠯ L	ᠰ S
ᠠ᠎ᠠ ka	1	15	16	30	32	37	40	43	—	49	59	—	—	72	80	81
ᠬᠠ kha	123	144	144	149	151	155	166	—	—	—	—	178	186	—	—	—
ᠭᠠ ga	203	218	219	223	224	233	237	253	—	262	278	282	288	301	—	319
ᠨᠠ nga	345	352	352	353	355	—	—	—	—	358	—	361	—	367	370	371
ᠴᠠ cha	378	381	382	383	384	—	—	—	385	—	390	—	—	—	396	—
ᠬᠡᠬᠠ chha	402	412	413	423	426	—	—	—	—	—	—	433	440	—	—	—
ᠵᠠ ja	447	448	449	449	450	—	—	—	—	—	—	450	452	463	469	—
ᠨᠢᠶᠠ nya	472	478	483	484	489	—	—	—	490	—	—	495	—	497	—	499
ᠲᠠ ta	512	514	517	518	518	—	519	—	520	—	528	—	—	530	540	546
ᠲᠠᠬᠠ tha	563	575	577	584	588	—	—	—	—	—	—	596	605	—	—	—
ᠳᠠ da	610	624	625	635	639	—	646	—	658	—	664	672	677	699	708	713
ᠨᠠ na	725	740	741	742	743	—	—	—	747	—	—	754	—	755	—	765
ᠫᠠ pa	775	782	783	785	785	—	786	—	—	787	—	—	—	—	795	795
ᠫᠠᠫᠠ pha	815	822	822	826	827	830	842	—	—	—	—	—	845	—	—	—
ᠪᠠ ba	858	869	870	875	877	880	894	899	—	906	—	—	916	935	935	935
ᠮᠠ ma	945	955	966	969	974	978	—	—	—	980	—	—	—	984	—	988
ᠲᠰᠠ tsa	995	998	999	999	999	—	—	—	1000	—	1003	—	—	1006	—	1016
ᠲᠰᠠᠬᠠ tsha	1017	1025	1027	1029	1032	—	—	—	—	—	—	1036	1042	—	—	—
ᠳᠰᠠᠳᠠ dsa	1047	1048	1048	1049	1049	—	—	—	—	—	—	1049	1051	1056	—	—
ᠠᠩᠠ wa	1061	1062	1062	1063	1063	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ᠵᠠᠬᠠ zha	1064	1069	1072	1074	1076	—	—	—	1077	—	1084	—	—	—	—	—
ᠵᠠ za	1088	1094	1095	1096	1097	—	—	1099	1102	—	1109	—	—	—	—	—
ᠬᠠᠬᠠ ḥa	1114	—	1115	—	1116	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ᠶᠠ ya	1123	1132	1138	1142	1143	—	—	—	1149	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ᠷᠠ ra	1159	1172	1185	1189	1192	—	—	1195	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ᠯᠠ la	1200	1212	1214	1218	1220	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ᠰᠠᠬᠠ sha	1226	1233	1239	1241	1245	—	—	—	1247	—	1252	—	—	—	—	—
ᠰᠠ sa	1255	1267	1270	1273	1280	—	1286	1298	1302	—	1316	—	—	—	—	—
ᠬᠠᠬᠠ ḥa	1325	1328	1328	1329	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1331	—
ᠠ a	1341	1349	1349	1351	1352	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—





Column 1 of the table gives the single initial letters in their order; columns 2 to 5 give the same letters combined with each of the vowels; columns 6 to 8 the same letters when combined with the subjoined letters (Y, R, L); columns 9 to 13 the single letters when they are preceded by each of the prefixes; and columns 14 to 16 when they are combined with the Head-Letters (R, L, S).

One other letter, ཨ་ *wa*, is subjoined to the single letter, as ཨ་ (named ཨ་ཟུར་ *wa-zur*, " *wa* at the side"). It is not shown separately in the table, as it occurs in very few words, and will be found at the end of the entries of the Single Letter of column 1 immediately before the first vowel that occurs. Another letter, ཁ་ *ha*, is written below, in the case of Sanskrit words transliterated in Tibetan, to represent the inherent *a* of the Sanskrit letters, but is not separately pronounced.

Jäschke's *Dictionary* has been reprinted in 1934, but each page of the reprint is identical with the original dictionary of 1881, so the table applies equally to both.

Jäschke's *Dictionary* contains 673 pages, Sarat Chandra Das's *Dictionary* contains 1,353 pages. I have noted the differences between these two Dictionaries elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> For the present purpose it will be sufficient to note that the extra matter in Sarat Chandra Das's *Dictionary* consists of:—

(1) A large number of new literary words and authorities, and examples of their use compiled by Sarat Chandra Das.

(2) A collection of Sanskrit equivalents to the literary words, made by Dr. A. Schiefner. These are marked by an asterisk.

(3) Sanskrit Synonyms added by Pandit Satis Chandra Acharya Vidyabhusana.

(4) A large number of fresh authorities for previously existing literary words and examples of their use.

(5) A number of current words collected by Sarat Chandra Das, with examples of their use.

(6) A certain number of additional words added by the revisers. It is a pity that these and the preceding were not marked by some distinguishing sign.

(7) Philosophical explanations of Buddhistic religious terms.

(8) Information of what may be termed an encyclopædic character.

<sup>1</sup> "The Tibetan Language and Recent Dictionaries," by E. H. C. Walsh, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. lxxii, Part 1, No. 2, 1903.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### Far East

- (1) **TIBETAN WORD BOOK.** By Sir BASIL GOULD, C.M.G., C.I.E., and HUGH EDWARD RICHARDSON. With a Foreword by Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., F.B.A., PH.D.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xvi + 447. (Oxford University Press, 1943.)
- (2) **TIBETAN SYLLABLES.** By the above Authors and Press.  $7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. x + 120.
- (3) **TIBETAN SENTENCES.** By the above Authors and Press.  $7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. v + 137.

In these books the authors treat the Tibetan language from a new point of view, according to the phonetic sound of its monosyllables, without regard to their spelling.

To quote the authors' own words (p. x): "The object of this series of books is to help ordinary people to learn to speak Tibetan as it is spoken in Lhasa. . . . Most of the work has been done during journeys in Tibet and on the occasions of visits to Lhasa. Most of the contributors are Tibetan by birth or have spoken Tibetan since childhood. The method is based on a study of the meanings of Tibetan syllables. Each syllable which has a fundamentally different sense, or is differently spelt in Tibetan, is assigned a separate key number. In the WORD BOOK each of some 2,000 Tibetan syllables is taken in turn, in Tibetan alphabetical order, as a key syllable. Then come words of which the key syllable forms part, the other syllables being identified by their key numbers. The Word Book thus affords a select vocabulary of several thousand words, each syllable of which, with few exceptions, is explained. In SYLLABLES the same 2,000 syllables are rearranged, according to their phonetic values, in English alphabetical order. This both facilitates reference to the Word Book and also helps to distinguish syllables of similar sound but of different spelling and meaning."

The WORD BOOK contains nearly nine thousand words, of which 1,975 are Key words (Nos. 2 to 3,950), as only the even numbers are allotted to them so as to allow space for subsequent additions in suitable places; the remainder being compound words compounded with the respective key words.



The SENTENCES is a small book of simple conversations on everyday subjects, each fresh syllable as it occurs being identified by its key number, the total number of syllables gradually introduced being about 800.

The authors also propose to publish a similar small book of VERBS, and a pamphlet on the Tibetan ALPHABET, showing the manner of writing Tibetan, which will also deal with the Tibetan system of spelling and pronunciation; also a book of GRAMMAR NOTES for use in conjunction with Sir Charles Bell's *Grammar of Colloquial Tibetan*; and there are in preparation Gramophone Records, which will include matter in the Alphabet, Word Book, and Sentences.

The great difficulty of the Tibetan language is the spelling, owing to the prefixed letters (of which there are five, *g, d, b, m, h*) and the superjoined letters (of which there are three, *r, l, s*) not being pronounced, and that some of the three subjoined letters (*y, r, l*) are not pronounced in their ordinary forms: thus *bya pya* are pronounced *ch*, most letters combined with *r* (*hra, gra, bra*, etc.) are pronounced *da*, and *zla* is also pronounced *da*. This will be seen from the Phonetic key syllables in the "Word Book" and especially in the "Tibetan Syllables". To take a few examples from the latter, the Phonetic syllable *ka* is spelt in eleven different ways, *Kha* in eight, *Nga* in six, *Nye* in eleven, *She* in ten, *Se* in eleven, and *Shu* in twelve.

It must not, however, be assumed that all the words shown under the same phonetic form are pronounced exactly the same: for example, the vowel sound of words ending in *d* is shortened, and in words ending in *s* it is lengthened, and other modifications occur in the vowel sounds according to the letters which follow them. The authors refer to this matter in the SYLLABLES (p. viii).

Another point to be borne in mind is that Tibetan is a Tone language: the Tone depends on the initial letter or on the prefix, and therefore words shown under the same Phonetic Key Sound are pronounced in high, medium, or low tone according to their spelling.

The present series of books are primarily intended for the beginner who has not the time or the inclination to learn the Tibetan language but only the *sounds* of a sufficient number of words and phrases to be able to understand and to carry on a simple conversation, and they are advised to disregard the roman transcription of the Tibetan

words. But the authors rightly say (Sentences, p. iv) that if he intends to take up Tibetan seriously he should learn to write and to read the Tibetan text at the earliest possible stage, and should rely on the phonetic renderings in roman characters as little as possible.

In KEY SYLLABLES (p. x) the authors say: "A rule of thumb for quick reference to Sarat Chandra Das's Dictionary is to divide the key number by three and turn on another eighty pages for key numbers about 2,700, but progressively less as the key numbers recede from 2,700. For reference to Jäschke's dictionary (reprint 1934), divide the key number by six and turn back about thirty-five pages." But even this "short cut" is a very lengthy one. The writer, many years ago, drew up a Table of Reference to each of these Dictionaries, showing the first page on which each combination of letters occurred, and, if the pages of the Dictionary be tabbed with the page number, at intervals of every fifty pages, the word can be found as quickly as in an English dictionary. *As these Tables will be of use to all students of Tibetan, they are now published on p. 87 in the present number of this Journal.*

The authors give the names of the many distinguished Tibetans who, together with Mr. David Macdonald, have assisted in the production of these books, and H.H. the Maharaja of Sikkim who has had the State Press specially equipped for their printing. TIBETAN SYLLABLES and TIBETAN SENTENCES have both been printed by that Press. The Tibetan script and the typing of the WORD BOOK are entirely the work of Kazi Dorji Tsering, which has been reproduced by photo-zincographic process by the Map Publication of the Survey of India, Calcutta, with the technical excellence which is associated with that department, and which has made it possible to produce the Word Book at the present time.

This new phonetic method is of great interest and, indirectly, brings out the characteristic peculiarities and difficulties of the language in regard to its spelling. If its primary object, which is to enable those who are not prepared to learn the language to converse with Tibetans by means of "word-sounds" succeeds, it will be of great use; and, in other respects, will be of great value to genuine students of the language. The authors are to be thanked for their undertaking, and to be congratulated on the thoroughness with which it has been carried out.

E. H. C. WALSH.

A FURTHER SELECTION FROM THE THREE HUNDRED POEMS OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY. Translated by SOAME JENYNS. Wisdom of the East. John Murray, 1944.

That Chinese scholarship and poetic inspiration should be found in the person of one and the same translator is perhaps too much to expect, but there are occasional traces of both in the present volume. Mr. Jenyns may not have the true afflatus of a poet, but he has a pleasing style and an elegant choice of words; moreover, he is fortunate in having obtained his raw material, so to speak, from the late Sir Reginald Johnston, who is known to have possessed a sound knowledge of the Chinese written language. The earlier selection of T'ang poems published in the Wisdom of the East series in 1940 is said on the title-page to have been "translated" by Mr. Jenyns, but in his foreword he confesses his deep obligation to Sir Reginald's lectures. Although no similar acknowledgment is made in this volume we may fairly assume that its contents are derived largely from the same source; for many small indications make it all too clear that Mr. Jenyns himself is no scholar. Aspirates and diacritical marks are constantly misplaced or omitted, and proper names wrongly transcribed: for instance, on p. 36, "Tu Ting Lake" should be "Tung-t'ing Lake"; on p. 80, "Kwang Ling" should be "Chiang Ling"; on p. 83, "Chu Ko Ling" is a mistake for "Chu-ko Liang"; and another double surname, Ssü-k'ung, is maltreated in the index, the second syllable being transferred to the personal name. Little things like these, however, will not greatly trouble the general public; nor indeed will actual mistranslations such as we find on p. 86: "Pity their bones with no resting-place strewn on the banks of the Wu Ting Ho." Here *Wu ting* is not the name of a river, but has already been translated "with no resting-place", although the meaning is rather "it is uncertain where they lie". Several lapses occur in one of Li Po's longer poems (p. 31), which are the less excusable because previous translations have been made by Obata, Fletcher, Bynner, and Waley. Here the Isles of the Blest are most unpoetically described as "difficult for the uninitiated to imagine". Why not stick to the literal meaning: "the truth about them is hard to seek"? Further on, *mi hua* does not mean "bewitched by the flowers", but simply "dazed". And at the end, according to Mr. Jenyns, the speaker exclaims: "How can I bend the bow and crook the back to the rich and mighty, and so stifle my own soul?" But

there is nothing about bending a bow: "Must I lower my eyes, bend at the waist, and serve the powerful and highly placed, without ever being able to open my heart and smile?"

As a rule, however, the renderings do keep reasonably close to the original—certainly more so than most previous versions. This, of course, is partly due to the fact that they are not hampered by rhyme, but couched in the unmetrical, semi-rhythmical prose which has become so popular for verse translation in these days. Forty-nine poets are represented, and a few of the pieces, so far as I can discover, have never been translated before. They are not arranged in any particular order, but an alphabetical index of the authors' names helps to make reference easy. All obscure terms or allusive passages are explained in short footnotes. On the whole the book may be said to succeed in conveying a good idea of some of the work that was produced during the most fruitful period of Chinese poetry.

B. 784,

LIONEL GILES.

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BRITAIN AND MALAYA. By Sir RICHARD WINSTEDT. pp. 79, with 2 maps and 17 photographs in gravure. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1944. 1s.

This admirably compendious little book constitutes the first issue in the second series of Longmans' Pamphlets on the British Commonwealth, and no greater authority than Sir Richard Winstedt could have been chosen to write upon Malaya.

The pamphlet opens with a concise account of the history of Malaya up to 1786 and of the circumstances leading thereafter to the acquisition of the Straits Settlements by Great Britain. This is followed by chapters treating of the gradual establishment of a British Protectorate over the nine Malay States, Federated and Unfederated, and of British methods of administration up to the time of the Japanese invasion at the close of 1941. There are likewise chapters dealing with the extraordinary economic development of the region (due principally to its production of tin and rubber) as well as with social life and social services. Particularly interesting is the fourth chapter, which describes the anomalous Constitution of Malaya, and in which the author discusses impartially the advantages and disadvantages of the federal system applied to the States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang.

The final chapter, entitled "The Past and the Future", provides food for thought. The author refutes the suggestion that the Asiatic population was indifferent to the continuance or otherwise of British rule, and he sees no reason to suppose that both the Malays and the Straits-born Chinese will not welcome our return after the defeat of Japan. With reference to the post-war period Sir Richard Winstedt writes as follows on page 74 :—

"Two domestic problems remain above all others to be solved by the Malaya of the future. How can there be framed some sort of Malayan union out of the ten component parts of a country as small as England, so as to effect smoothness and economy of administration? And, gravest problem of all, how is Malaya to tackle the Palestinian difficulty of a population composed almost equally of Malays and Chinese?"

As regards the creation of some kind of Malayan union, the author advocates the *via media* of a loose federation under which the maintenance of the authority and prestige of the native rulers of the Malay States would be made a cardinal point in British policy. With respect to the population difficulty, he sees nothing for it but a revival of recent quota legislation, with a view to ensuring that foreigners shall not be admitted to the country beyond its ultimate capacity to absorb them. In view of the aversion felt by the Malays for any close political union among themselves, and of the rivalry between Malays and immigrants from abroad, the author considers that there are insurmountable obstacles to self-government for Malaya within a measurable space of time, and in this opinion most competent judges will concur.

B. 785.

J. CROSBY.

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1,200 CHINESE BASIC CHARACTERS. By W. SIMON, Ph.D., with a Foreword by WANG YŪN-WU.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 328. London: Lund Humphries and Co., 1944. 15s.

CHINESE RADICALS AND PHONETICS. By W. SIMON, Ph.D. Lund Humphries and Co., 1944. 21s.

These volumes are recent additions to Dr. Simon's valuable series of Chinese language textbooks. Their purpose is to furnish material and method for the teaching in England of written *kuo yü* to those who have already had instruction in speaking it, so it is to be expected that the approach will differ from that of earlier manuals



prescribed for the use of students in China or concerned with other aspects of the language.

The author's most notable break with tradition has been his adoption of *Gwoyeu Romatzyh*, the system officially approved by the Chinese Ministry of Education for the romanization of what had been defined as the "national language". To those accustomed to the Wade system any such change is apt to be disagreeable. But for the purpose in view there is obvious merit in a scheme in which all the sounds and tones are represented by the spelling alone without the aid of numerals or diacritical signs. The difficulty of distinguishing and memorizing from the printed page the vocalization of characters represented by *ch'u*<sup>1</sup>, *ch'u*<sup>2</sup>, *chu*<sup>3</sup>, and *chu*<sup>4</sup> is greatly diminished when they are read as *chu*, *chwu*, *juu*, and *juh*. Another feature is the ease with which the transcribed sounds of phrases are combined to form words of two or more syllables, so indicating the rhythm of the Chinese sentence. The best recommendation of *Gwoyeu Romatzyh* is the rapid progress made by students who have used it. It is, of course, recognized that those who pass on to other branches of Chinese studies will have to become acquainted with the Wade romanization.

*1,200 Chinese Basic Characters* is an adaptation of *P'ing min ch'ien tzu k'o*, the "thousand character" lessons published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, for the Chinese Mass Education Movement. The aim of the movement was the abolition of illiteracy in China, and to this end twelve hundred and sixty-nine characters were selected to form a kind of tentative basic Chinese. The lessons, which confine themselves to the use of these characters, are here reproduced from the original handwritten texts by photolithographic process and set out with vocabularies, romanized transcriptions, translations, and notes.

*Chinese Radicals and Phonetics* is a complementary volume to that of the lessons. The structure of characters is explained, each character is analysed, and the order of writing the strokes is clearly shown. The characters are again reproduced from Chinese handwriting, and it is difficult to overstress the advantage to the student of having before him written examples as his models instead of the printed forms, imitation of which is such a hindrance to the attainment of a good style. He should soon sense the genius of the script and, with a minimum of guidance from his teacher, be on the way to writing it legibly and fluently.

An original feature of the author's method is his system of character analysis. To every character is assigned a formula expressed in numerals and symbols, and in order to make good use of this device the student is required at an early stage to learn the serial numbers of the 214 radicals. To assist him there is an ingenious scheme of mnemonics, which has in its turn to be committed to memory. The Chinese themselves do not associate numbers with the radicals in their minds or in their dictionaries, and a Chinese who knew his radicals by number would be as great a rarity as a European who knew the letters of his alphabet in this way. Foreigners are accustomed to note the numbers of the more common radicals as landmarks to guide them through the dictionary, but it is not usual to find among competent linguists a knowledge of anything like all of them. Application of the system will alone show whether its advantages are commensurate with the addition to the student's tasks, and there will doubtless be a wide variation in individual response.

B. 786.

S. HOWARD HANSFORD.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE. By L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH. 9 × 6, pp. 260, with 17 maps and 24 illustrations. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, Publishers. \$2.50.

All interested in Chinese history, language, literature, art, and archæology will be grateful for this short history of the Chinese people, which in comparatively few pages gives an accurate and intelligible account of the Chinese from the earliest times to the present day. It treats mainly of Chinese culture in all its branches as it evolved from the time of the Shang-Yin dynasty, always relating this development to the actions of prominent individuals and the results of the impacts of neighbouring and distant peoples on the life of the country. The introduction and extension of various crops and industries are duly noted. The subject is divided, chapter by chapter, into well chosen periods of history of which the later are not more generously treated than the earlier, resulting in a well-balanced picture of the evolution of the Chinese people. Though retarded from time to time by the havoc of innumerable campaigns and civil wars this evolution always surged forward

when a line of strong rulers gave peace and order to the country. The creative genius of the Chinese artist and craftsman was thus afforded scope and opportunity for another advance. Even during such times of chaos as in the closing centuries of the Chou dynasty and in the centuries between the Han and T'ang empires there was healthy intellectual activity, when new ideas were freely accepted. All this prepared the way for the triumphs of the Han and T'ang respectively.

Of special interest is the chapter dealing with "The Period of Political Disunion", in many ways the most interesting and yet the most confused period of Chinese history. The many dynasties that reigned in various parts during these three hundred years have been disentangled and summarized on one page. The gradual infiltration of Buddhism is shown by its appearance in different parts of the country at different times. It is refreshing to find the accurate statement, "No one knows when it (Buddhism) appeared." The difficulties of translating Buddhist scriptures are well brought out and the peculiar appeal of Buddhism to the Chinese people in these chaotic times is made clear. Other matters dealt with in this chapter are the growth of Taoism into a national religion, at first friendly and then hostile to Buddhism; the effect of these two religions on official Confucianism; the wonderful Buddhist sculptures of the period, and the journeys of Chinese pilgrims to the holy land of India. The rise of the Turks from their servile work as smiths to be builders of great empires, and the flow of all forms of Chinese thought and belief *via* Korea to Japan during the fifth and sixth centuries are duly noted. The chapter points the way for fascinating research in many directions, besides giving the clue to much of the later history of the country.

The book is attractively produced with seventeen useful maps and an interesting series of photographs. The bibliography at the end and the reference notes throughout the text will be invaluable aids to all who wish for further study or information.

B. 787.

T. H. LINDSAY.

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## Near East

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RESEARCH.  
Vol. 13. New York City, 1943.

Medieval Jewish philosophy cannot be separated from Muslim. The philosophers despised the theologians as dabblers and Ghazali turned the tables by showing that philosophy could not prove anything. Then Judah Hallevi followed in his *Kuzari*, asserting that philosophy cannot prove the truth of religion. In this book a king of the Khazars discusses religion with a philosopher, a Christian, a Muslim, and a Jew. There is no meeting between the rabbi and the philosopher; it is as if Hallevi felt that philosophy might be dangerous to simple faith. In spite of the pleading of Professor Strauss, it seems that Hallevi's ideas were confused; he admitted that unaided reason could lay down some laws for life, but these needed to be completed, filled in, by revelation. He left the boundary between the two undefined. The first article in this volume is on the zodiacal light in old times, Professor Gandz arguing that it provided several nations with gods and has left traces in the Old Testament. The method of the article is wrong for the assumption of one paragraph becomes the fact of the next. There are several errors of fact. On the writer's own showing this light is only occasionally visible for the greater part of the night. The South Arabian Almaqah is not female. 'Athtar has no immediate connection with the Arabic root 'tr and the Hebrew Ashera. Dhu'l-Qarnain did not build two walls. It is stated that a pair of deities was worshipped in Edessa, yet the text, which should prove this, refers to Emesa. There is a lot about two horns, but no mention of the fact that a great god may have four. Misprints are numerous: two in six lines of Arabic verse. A third article on the adverbial use of "all" in the Psalms is short and to the point.

B. 788.

A. S. TRITTON.

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THE ANTI-ANTHROPOMORPHISMS OF THE GREEK PENTATEUCH. By  
CHARLES T. FRITSCH. Princeton University: Humphrey  
Milford. 13s. 6d.

In considering the Jewish conception of God in the light of Jewish literary records, we find the tendency from the earliest times to combat all anthropomorphic notions and to explain away

Biblical phrases and expressions describing God after the human pattern as mere figures of speech, designed to impress upon man His personal character.

This tendency is reflected in certain changes in the Biblical Hebrew text, known as *Tikkune Soferim* ("Corrections of the Scribes"), and becomes very pronounced in the Aramaic translations of the Bible in which all anthropomorphisms are avoided.

This anti-anthropomorphic bias is also characteristic of the Greek translators of the Old Testament. They, too, sought to spiritualize the conception of God by removing or moderating many of the human qualities or motives attributed to Him in the Bible.

This characteristic of the Greek Pentateuch has already been recognized long ago, but it was left to Dr. Fritsch to deal with the subject in a systematic and comprehensive manner and to attempt a theological evaluation of the various forms of anti-anthropomorphisms that are to be found in the Greek Pentateuch.

As a result of his investigation and classification of all the available data, the author has been able to establish the definite system followed by the Greek translators in their treatment of the Biblical anthropomorphisms; and shows that whilst they felt the need of eschewing anthropomorphic expressions they did not carry through this "purge" with the same consistency as the Aramaic translators. He further argues in favour of the view, propounded by scholars like Dähne and Gförer, that the anti-anthropomorphisms in the Greek Pentateuch were due to Greek influence rather than expressive of a tendency inherent in Judaism itself. This is, however, by no means convincing. While Greek influence is no doubt perceptible in idioms and certain Græcisms, the very urge the Greek translators felt to deal with the problem had its roots in Judaism. This is especially the case since the author himself would not go so far as to maintain with Dähne that they had already become familiar with the principles of Philonic philosophy. They were thus merely translators, not philosophers; but they could not help being guided by the religious ideas which were already well-established in Jewry in their times.

However that may be the work is a valuable contribution to the study of the Greek Old Testament, enabling us to appraise the place it occupies in the development of the anti-anthropomorphic reactions in Judaism which reached their climax in Philo.

I. EPSTEIN.



### Middle East

ḤAKĪM AL-MA'ARRA (THE SAGE OF MA'ARRA). By 'UMAR FARRŪKH. (Silsilat al-Kishāf al-Adabiyyat, 8.) pp. 104, ill. 1. Beirut, 1944. Sh. 9.

A few years ago 'Abd al-'Azīz Maimun published a book about al-Ma'arri on the lines of old-fashioned Eastern scholarship with lists of his teachers, pupils, and writings. The present book tries to be quite modern, though the writer betrays himself by the undue space he allots to the poet's views on women and marriage and his attempt to prove him a good Muslim. There is a short sketch of the society into which al-Ma'arri was born and then all the emphasis is on what he thought and wrote. The author's interpretation is always supported by quotations; one gets the impression that he is writing from memory for several quotations occur twice, suggesting that al-Ma'arri could say a thing once only. Druze influence on him seems to have been only negative. The last section of the book is on the influence exerted by the sage, especially on Omar Khayyam, Dante, and Milton. Whence came the idea that Milton was born a catholic and intended for a monk? Has a memory of "the lady of Christ's" been perverted to a vow of chastity? Inside the sphere of Arabic letters this is a good introduction to the blind poet.

B. 790.

A. S. TRITTON.

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THE ARAB HERITAGE. Ed. by NABIH A. FARIS. pp. 279, pl. 18. Princeton University Press, 1944. S. 20.

There are some wild statements in this book; for instance, that language proves certain tribes migrated from the south of Arabia, and that the Crusades were the chief means of bringing Arab learning to Europe. This is a pity as the book is for those who do not know enough to correct these errors. One might add that all the writers' geese are swans. The worst has now been said. The book covers the ground well; it fits the Arabs into their place in the world and gives a sample of their later history. Their social life is illustrated by the experiences of a French gentleman who went on pilgrimage in A.D. 1395. One chapter deals with the Koran and the beginnings of Islam, showing its dependence on its fore-runners. This chapter is, perhaps, too long in proportion to the

others. One chapter is given up to poetry with judicious examples in translation, while another deals with prose and later Islam in the person of Ghazali. Muslim learning is treated competently and there is an interesting chapter on art with good plates which also illustrate the text. In the chapter on Ghazali a paragraph is lifted, almost unchanged, from the *Legacy of Islam*, and nothing is said about the influence of Christianity on him. It seems rather dangerous to erect a group of poets into a school because they often talk about bees! The introduction on the study of Arabic in America and England will not be read with pride in either country. The book deserves to be successful.

B. 791.

A. S. TRITTON.

RECUEIL DE TRAVAUX PUBLIÉ PAR L'UNIVERSITÉ D'UPPSALA.  
 1939: 6, ÉTUDE SUR LES VERBES *فعل*. By COMTE DE  
 LANDBERG. pp. 31. Kr. 3. 1940: 2. GLOSSAIRE DE LA  
 LANGUE DES BÉDOUINS 'ANAZEH. By COMTE DE LANDBERG.  
 pp. 106. Kr. 10.

The second of these books quotes the first so they may be taken together. It is a welcome surprise to find the name de Landberg on a new title page. Both books deal with modern Arabic as developed from the classical. At the present day *fi'il* is a common pattern for the perfect of the verb; the author argues that it is derived in two ways, directly from the old *fa'ila* and indirectly because the imperfect *yaf'ilu* has affected the perfects *fa'ala* and *fa'ula* and changed them to *fa'ila*. This second seems a clumsy hypothesis; it is simpler to suppose that *fa'ala* became *fi'al* and then *fi'il*. The weakening or loss of a vowel in an unaccented syllable needs no illustration. Even if one does not agree with the theory it is good to have the collection of material which shows the beginnings of these and like changes in classical times. The author says that the roots *w-r-m*, *r-w-m*, and *r-y-m* are connected; the connections between Semitic roots need further study, but it is safe to assert that these three have no connection beyond a certain likeness. The glossary is the second instalment of *La Langue des Bédouins 'Anazeh*. Evidently it was not finished by the author; the root *h-b-s* is quoted on p. 15, but is not to be found in its proper place. Unusual words are given a wealth of illustration from the

classical tongue and from all sorts of modern dialects. It is not a mere word list but treats of many subjects bearing on the life of the Arabs. The reader is offered fine confused feeding, for the author has poured out the treasures of his knowledge liberally.

B. 792.

A. S. TRITTON.

DER DREIEINIGE GOTT IN RELIGIONSHISTORISCHER BELEUCHTUNG.

By DITLEF NEILSEN. 9 × 8. pp. i-xvii + 250 (vol. ii, pt. 1).  
Copenhagen, 1942. (Gyldendal.)

In this second section of Dr. Neilsen's work on the development of the conception of the divine trinity and its influence in Semitic religion, he concentrates on the early Arabic nature religion where it had its origin. In particular he surveys the evidence for the cult of the Great Moon God, and for the survival of this chief figure of the trinity in the complex religious systems of neighbouring lands.

Dr. Neilsen maintains that the influence of this religion outside Arabia has been underestimated, because our knowledge is so scanty in comparison with the wealth of information from Sumerian and Accadian sources. Now, however, we have the tablets from Ras Shamra and records of recent excavations from such temple sites as Petra and Dura-Europos; all this he has fully utilized, together with the evidence afforded by names and epithets of deities and their worshippers in Arabic inscriptions, and he takes into account also that religious outlook peculiar to the nomadic desert tribes, which has changed little through the centuries.

From this survey the figure of the Moon-God, attended by his consort the Sun-Goddess and his son the Venus-Star, emerges clearly. Beginning as Supreme Ruler, not only of the night sky but of clouds and storms, rain and fertility, and the Creator and Father of animals and men, we see him develop into the special protector of certain tribes, as Jahwe of the Israelites or Dagan of the Philistines, until finally the idea of a Supreme God whose realm is that of ethics as well as fruitfulness and victory is attained. In national gods like Dagan, Hadad, and Resep Dr. Neilsen sees separate aspects of the Moon-God developing, and he gives an especially comprehensive analysis of the complex figures of Dagan and Hadad.

This is a clear, systematic, and logical treatment of a most complicated and controversial subject, that of the nature of early

Semitic religion in the north-west and its relation to Sumerian and Accadian cults. There is some tendency towards repetition and over-simplification in Dr. Neilsen's Endymion-like pursuit of the Moon-deity into every corner of the Semitic world, but so neat and constructive a survey from many different fields makes pleasurable reading. In particular his enthusiastic and scholarly reconstruction of a great religious concept from the dry bones of scattered and sadly limited evidence makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of early religion on the fringe of the Arabian desert, where the three great religions of Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity had their birth.

B. 793.

H. R. ELLIS DAVIDSON.

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### India

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN INDIA. By the Hon. Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY, K.C.I.E., M.A., B.L. Calcutta : Thacker Spink and Co., 1933. London : W. Thacker and Co., 1943. Price 13s. 6d.

This forms a valuable handbook for anyone desirous of acquainting himself with the constitutional development of the last sixty years in India, and on the historical side it is a useful guide through the bewildering jungle of political technicalities surrounding this troublesome field of study. It might perhaps, from this point of view, be improved by the addition of a chronological table, but it has a full index and the chapter headings give a handy indication of its contents. The writer occupies an excellent position for putting forward an exposition of this kind, as he has been President of the Bengal Legislative Council and also President of the National Liberal Federation, and this book has an interesting Foreword from the practised pen of Sir Tej Bahdur Sapru, the leading representative of the Liberal standpoint in Indian politics. The author, although he freely expresses his own views on past incidents and programmes, disclaims any intention of expressing his personal opinions on existing political problems, and his readers should not be induced by the title to expect proposals for the solution of the difficulties connected with Party Government and the problem of unalterable minorities. It is from the historical view, however, that readers of this *Journal* will be chiefly interested

in the book, and they will find in it ample material, collected with great industry, on the basis of which they may, if they wish and if they can, form opinions of their own upon current difficulties.

B. 794.

E. D. MACLAGAN.

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STRANGERS IN INDIA. By PENDEREL MOON.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , pp. 212.  
Faber and Faber. 7s. 6d.

This book is by an Indian Civilian who went to India with the highest ideals, met with much disappointment, and finally seems to have thrown his hand in at a most difficult time. It deserves attention as a study, however pessimistic, of present and future conditions. We may take it that the author was a painstaking District Officer and Magistrate who did not see eye to eye with his District Judges and higher Police Officers, which is perhaps scarcely surprising in view of his preference for hearsay evidence. The difficulty of judging the author's real views is increased by the opinions advanced being placed in the mouths of imaginary characters, an earnest young officer and a cynical and disillusioned senior. The account of Indian States, for example, is a caricature as given by these puppets, and we gather that the author's own experience of a State was brief and unhappy. Yet this account is followed by a careful examination of the States' position, marred by failure to record the efforts made to educate potential rulers, and, what is more serious, by omission of any mention of the Treaties, which are naturally regarded by the Chiefs as sacred. The author actually suggests an extension of the States, apparently in the belief that archaic and democratic systems survive to a greater extent in them than in British India. With greater experience or wider inquiry Mr. Moon would have found that there is more centralization in an Indian State with an ordered administration than in a British-Indian Province. Mr. Moon, indeed, when recommending changes in the British-Indian administration such as the extension of Panchayats and the introduction of assessors, seems unaware of the extent to which these systems have been tried in Provinces other than the Panjab, and the success, or otherwise, of the innovations. The gaps in Mr. Moon's knowledge, as far as appears in his book, are also apparent when he criticizes unsparingly British action in India. When, for example, he accuses the British investor of being grasping in the interest charged on



sums provided for railways, he ignores the difficulty experienced till quite recently of obtaining Indian capital for industrial development. He does not mention that the great industries established mainly by British capital have passed, in the case of cotton, jute, and tea (to mention only three of them), either very largely or almost entirely into Indian hands.

While the author is critically emphatic regarding omissions in the past, he is not so clear as to action in the future. Although he regards India as actually a geographical, and ideally a political, unit and therefore disapproves of partition in the abstract, he regards it as possibly the least undesirable of practicable alternatives. It is curious to find one who has been a Panjab officer deriving Pakistan from the initial letters of three countries, one of them outside India.

Mr. Moon is not severe upon the British only. With the exception of one Moslem Deputy Collector, no individual Indian is mentioned with real approval. With his views on the corruption under the Provincial Government, and the deterioration of the services, the general effect of the book is decidedly gloomy.

It is fair to note that its last paragraph bases on the real friendship between Englishmen and Indians a more hopeful faith for the future than would be gathered from the author's presentation of the facts.

B. 795.

P. R. CADELL.

MARIA MURDER AND SUICIDE. By VERRIER ELWIN.  $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xxix + 259, maps 2, ills. 50. Humphrey Milford, 1943. 15s.

The author of this very detailed account of murders and suicides among the Maria tribe is already known to ethnographers for his study of the Baiga and similar works. Incidentally this volume gives us much valuable information regarding Baiga customs, which, for the most part, are very similar to those of other primitive tribes in India; but the main object of the writer is to throw light on the underlying causes of murders and suicides among these child-like people.

With this object one hundred cases of murder are analysed in a summary based on criminal proceedings, and the pages are filled with details of the circumstances in which suicides are committed.

The result is somewhat depressing, and opens a new chapter in the ethnological survey of India. On these lines the stream of

research is likely to end in a stagnant delta of criminology of vast dimensions. The author records the fact that released murderers are not popular as husbands (p. 197). This is, perhaps, not a matter for surprise. He also has strong views about the unsuitability of the existing jail system to the Maria character, and suggests, in his final chapter, the substitution of camps for jails, where inmates should be suitably entertained by singing and dancing as well as games. The writer of a foreword to the volume, who has judicial experience as sessions judge in India, appears to support these views; but it may be questioned whether such a novel departure in favour of many exceedingly brutal murderers would be likely to exercise a restraining influence on prospective criminals, who appear to be plentiful, if the author's description of the playful Marias can be accepted.

B. 796.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

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MARATHI LANGUAGE COURSE. By H. M. LAMBERT.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xiv + 301. Oxford University Press, 1943. Rs. 10.

In her preface Miss Lambert modestly describes her Language Course as a contribution to experimental work in modern linguistic study and teaching. But it is more than an experiment. It embodies the results of long practical experience in teaching and the latest conclusions of linguistic pedagogy.

It is distinguished from most other language courses, in that although the work of one brain, its material has been gathered from many sources, and the help, not only of the linguistic expert and the teacher, but also of the student has been enlisted. The co-operation of Indian with Briton, which Miss Lambert has organized, has produced as it always must, a work of high importance.

A possible criticism is that the Course postulates a language school and skilled teachers, to be found only in the universities and the missionary bodies. In such conditions it will find its widest scope. But even those solitary and neglected students of Marathi, the Government servant, the European business man, and others to whom the use of a language school is denied, will find the Course of the greatest use in their daily wrestles with a placid pandit. They will find that it will fully repay them to master the phonetic

script, if only to record the pandit's divergences from standard Poona pronunciation.

It is suggested that in subsequent editions of this Course the map opposite the title-page should be replaced by a plan of the organs of speech. It is dangerous to assume that the reader knows the meaning of such terms as "blade" of the tongue, hard palate, soft palate. The map serves no useful purpose and may mislead, for it is doubtful if Konkani can now be considered a dialect of Marathi.

B. 797.

ALFRED MASTER.

### Islam

THE ORIGINS OF ISMA'ILISM : A STUDY OF THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE FĀTIMID CALIPHATE. By Dr. BERNARD LEWIS. pp. vi + 114. Cambridge : W. Heffer and Sons, 1940.

Dr. Lewis has provided an interesting discussion and useful summary of sources, and his new MS. material will be welcomed. Obviously, to deal in detail with the ramifications of the movement was not his task, which has been rather, as he states it (p. 22), to fix the relation between the terms Isma'īlī, Fāṭimid, and Carmathian. The solution he adopts is that while the Fāṭimid movement in North Africa was directly connected with the Isma'īliyah, of which the Carmathians in Syria and Mesopotamia formed part, the Carmathians of Baḥrain had a separate origin, though later they were in close contact with the Fāṭimids.

The Fāṭimid Caliphate is in the centre of Dr. Lewis's interest. He argues that the Mahdī 'Ubaidu'llah, the first of the dynasty, was a direct descendant of Maimūnu'l-Qaddāḥ, a co-founder with Isma'īl b. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq of the Isma'īlī movement. The Mahdī's successor, however, al-Qā'im, was, he thinks, a true 'Alid. This suggestion deserves full consideration in view of the evidence cited (pp. 51-4). Dr. Lewis concludes that from the beginning the Isma'īliyah possessed a double line of Imams, permanent (*mustaḡarr*) as well as deputy (*mustawda'*), the former as descendants of Isma'īl being 'Alids and the latter, the posterity of Maimūn, Qaddāḥids (pp. 50, 72-3).

He touches on the difficult question of the hidden Imams of the Isma'īliyah (al-Mastūrūn). The lists he gives on p. 72 and at the

end of the book (House of 'Alī) differ from those in other works (e.g. Zambaur, Ivanow art. Isma'īliyah in E.I. Supp.), but what is more serious, disagree with each other. Presumably the table of the 'Alids on p. 72 represents Dr. Lewis's opinion, based on a new source, the *Ghāyatu'l-Mawālīd* (p. 51), while something has gone wrong with the chart at the end of the book. A minor point is whether he is justified in reading Raḍī and not Riḍā on p. 73.

Dr. Lewis's remarks on the book *Ummu'l-Kitāb* (pp. 15, 35) are not to be taken as implying Isma'īlī activity in Central Asia before the establishment of the Fāṭimid rule. No evidence has been brought of the propaganda in that quarter until considerably later, though it is not impossible that the Isma'īliyah reached Turkestan at an earlier period than anything so far discovered would indicate. Certainly the Zaidiyah had made its appearance among the heathen Turks before this time, and possibly other *Shī'ī* sects besides (references in Zeki Validi's edition of Ibn Faḍlān's *Narrative*, p. xxii).

On p. 28 the brother of Abū Hāshim bequeathes his title of Imam to the 'Abbāsids, while on p. 29 it is Abū Hāshim himself who does this; on p. 29 "divinise", though no doubt correct, seems odd for "deify"; on p. 55 "then" should be "than"; on p. 59 "apostasized" should be "apostatized"; on p. 59 also "al-Makkī (!)" evidently in scorn is inconsistent with p. 64, where it is allowed that "al-Makki" may be right; on pp. 62, 64, 90 the use of "Bardesianian" instead of "Daiṣānī" is awkward; on p. 67 "Lacy O'Leary" should be "De Lacy O'Leary"; on p. 88 certainly not "His account . . . leaves off *in medias res*"; on p. 99 Nāṣir-i-Khusrau, but pp. 17, 104 Nāṣir i Khusraw. The index of persons is remarkably defective.

D. M. DUNLOP.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

### **Oriental Studies at Leningrad and Moscow**

Leningrad State University, which dates from the reign of Peter I, has opened a new department for Oriental subjects.

Last year it was decided to combine the University's orientalists in the various chairs of the philological and historical faculties into a single Oriental faculty. This is made up of thirteen philological chairs: the Chinese, Japanese, Indo-Tibetan, Mongolian, Iranian, Turkish, Arabic, African, Tungus-Manchurian, the economics of Eastern countries, the history of the Ancient East, and the history of the Medieval and Modern East. S. A. Kozin, the noted scholar on Mongolia, and Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, will head the Faculty. The chairs held by Orientalists well known abroad will be: Academicians I. Krachkovsky (Arabist), V. Alexeyev (Sinologist), V. Struve (history of the Ancient East), and A. Barannikov (Indianist).

After receiving a thorough grounding in languages, which is the tradition of the Leningrad School of Oriental Studies, students may henceforth pass on to special subjects. The programme for the five-year course has been most carefully worked out. The Oriental Faculty has a staff of distinguished teachers, rich libraries, and is well supplied with textbooks, all of which contribute to make it one of the most prominent world centres for the study of Oriental peoples.

The Eastern Department of the Faculty of History of the Moscow University opened on 1st October, 1944. About 100 young men and women will study the history, languages, written records, literature, and culture of the Arabs, Turks, Iranians, Indians, Mongols, Chinese, Malays, and Japanese from ancient times up to the present day.

Oriental studies have been a feature of Moscow University since the beginning of the nineteenth century. One name that earned notoriety was that of Professor A. V. Boldyrev, author of books on the languages of the Middle East, principally the Arabic. Other well known Orientalists who worked in Moscow University were P. Y. Petrov, the Indianist, and that talented polyglot and man of letters, F. E. Korsch.

In view of the necessity of training more specialists and the



great interest displayed in the countries and peoples of the East, the University is extending its Oriental section into a department of three chairs : Near Eastern, Middle Eastern, and Far Eastern.

Graduates from the Oriental department should be trained historians competent to work in one of the numerous Universities or Institutes of the country as well as in other more practical spheres.

This year the University will publish a number of important monographs : "Ancient Khwa," by Professor S. P. Tolstov, the result of many expeditions led by the author along the lower reaches of the Amu Darya ; "Turkey and Russia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," by Professor N. A. Smirnov, based on a study of written records ; "World Politics in the Pacific," by Professor G. N. Voitinsky, and a number of others.

M. DIAKONOV.

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### **Royal Asiatic Society's Universities Prize Essay Competition**

The Council offers alternate subjects for the 1945 Competition :—

- (i) The Cultural Influences of India on China to the end of the Eighth Century A.D.
- (ii) The Mongols in Asia and Europe.

An Essay on either of not less than 5,000 or more than 7,000 words may be submitted on or before 1st October, 1945.

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## OBITUARY NOTICE

**Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., F.R.G.S.**

By the death of Sir Charles Alfred Bell we have lost a leading scholar of current Tibetan. His *Grammar* and his *Dictionary of Colloquial Tibetan* (1905) are standard works, and in his three works, *Tibet Past and Present* (1924), *The People of Tibet* (1928), and *The Religion of Tibet* (1931), he has given the most complete and authentic account of that country, its history, its people, and its religion, both from original Tibetan sources and from his own intimate knowledge of the country.

Bell was the son of an Indian civilian. He was educated at Winchester, where he was a scholar, and at New College, Oxford. He entered the Indian Civil Service in Bengal in 1891, and in 1904 was appointed Assistant Political Officer in Sikkim, being promoted its Political Officer in 1908. He conducted a Political Mission to Bhutan in 1910, concluding a Treaty by which its foreign relations were placed under the British Government. He was employed at the Tibet Conference, in India, between Great Britain, China, and Tibet in 1913. He retired from the Indian Civil Service in 1919, but was recalled to conduct a Diplomatic Mission to Lhasa in 1920, remaining there for eleven months. Afterwards he travelled in Tibet, Mongolia, and Siberia. In 1937 he received the Lawrence Memorial Medal of the Royal Central Asian Society.

Sir Charles Bell began his study of Tibetan in 1900, when he was Joint Magistrate at Darjeeling, and he compiled his *Grammar* and *Dictionary of Colloquial Tibetan* when he was Sub-Divisional Officer of Kalimpong in that District, both under the present writer. Bell formed an intimate friendship with the late Dalai Lama while the latter was living in Darjeeling in 1910 to 1912, when he had to escape from Tibet, an intimacy continued during the eleven months Bell was in Lhasa; his *Tibet Past and Present* is dedicated by permission to the late Dalai Lama "in memory of a long friendship". This intimacy gave Sir Charles Bell a unique position in his intercourse with all classes of Tibetan society, and greatly extended and strengthened the friendship started by Sir Francis Younghusband's Mission, and it was mainly instrumental in smoothing the way for the subsequent Missions to Lhasa.

E. H. C. WALSH.





## Masterpieces of Oriental Art. 5

BY DORA GORDINE (THE HON. MRS. RICHARD HARE)

(PLATES VIII AND IX)

PLATE VIII. HEAD OF THE GODDESS PI-HSIA YÜAN-CHÜN, PRINCESS  
OF COLOURED CLOUDS. FOURTEENTH-FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

*From the Collection of Baron Eduard von der Heydt*

PLATE IX. A MING IRON HEAD

*Private Collection*

A CHINESE mason will give preternatural length to the arms of a Kuan-yin so as to include the pedestal in the proportions of the design. And this eye for composition has made coiffure and coronet such integral parts of these two heads that without them the faces would lose half their distinction.

In the princess of Coloured Clouds the elaborate and varied texture of the bird-crowned hair emphasizes the simple treatment of a face where detail is concentrated on profile and watchful eyes. Though the expression of the Princess is sensitive and individual, the head might have been carved in stone with a few strokes of the chisel. The forehead is continued into the line of the nose and there is unusual breadth between eye and ear and between chin and the nape of the neck, features that produce a monumental quality in this admirable limestone piece.

In the hair of the Princess of Coloured Clouds every item is as distinct as the modelling of the features. But in the iron head only the general shape of the coronet is important, its details being subordinated so as not to distract attention from the clear and inflexible lines of the face. The reticent grace of the crown brings out the refinement of features which in spite of volume and roundness have a pencilled delicacy. Austerity is the mark of this hieratic head, and the slightly mocking smile is controlled and placid. The iron casting is a masterpiece of technique.



## An Old Arakanese Love Poem

By MAURICE COLLIS

READERS of my *The Land of the Great Image* will remember how the Portuguese friar, Brother Manrique, came in 1630 over the rainy mountains to Mahāmuni in Arakan, the most celebrated Buddhist shrine at that time in Further India. The King of Arakan, Thiri-thu-dhamma, was visiting the shrine, having travelled by house-boat from his capital, Mrauk-u, the Monkey's Egg, which lay on the River of Jems some 40 miles distant. The friar was received in audience at the foot of the sacred hill, Sirigutta, upon the top of which stood the Mahāmuni, one of the portrait images of the Buddha supposed to have been cast in his lifetime, another being located in Tavatimsa, a paradisaal region inhabited by the displaced Hindu gods, who, having been converted to the truth, desired to possess in their territory an image of the Blessed One to worship.

The friar had important political business in Arakan and, as a narrow Augustinian monk, had no interest in the extraordinary religious centre at which he found himself. While he was there, the royal procession to the shrine took place, the King in his palanquin surrounded by the whole Court, the officials, the astrologers and the principal abbots passing up the slope in brilliant sunshine, but he does not describe it in his memoirs nor does he appear to have entered the precincts to view the great image, the subsidiary carvings, the sacred banyan or the library. Had he done so, and been accompanied by a competent guide, he might have met a singular person who at the time was resident there in the menial capacity of a servant to the shrine, an outcast status known as that of pagoda-slave, but who once had been Court Poet and Royal Tutor.

This person was Ugga Byan, the most celebrated of Arakanese poets and the author of the poem which is translated below.

The lives of Orientals who rise high in their world are often characterized by catastrophic falls. In the reign of Razagri (1593-1612), the grandfather of Thiri-thu-dhamma, Ugga Byan received the appointment of Royal Tutor to the heir apparent, Minkha Maung, as he was afterwards styled. Minkha Maung was in his teens and Ugga Byan was probably about twenty-five. The poet

was by character signally unfitted to be a tutor, for his disposition was wild. He and his charge became the centre of an unruly Court set, which while dabbling in erudition and poetry was more noted for its brawls, quarrels, and adventures. King Razagri, the most eminent of the Arakanese monarchs, was much occupied with wars and building projects, and did not find time, or was too frequently absent, to exercise sufficient control over his son. The Court set becoming more bold, a conspiracy was hatched with the object of doing away with the King. But the plot leaked out and, in the investigation which followed, it was established that both the heir-apparent and the poet were implicated. Razagri shrank from extreme measures and banished both of them to Burma. This event occurred about 1596. The Burmese capital was then Pegu, the ruling King being Nanda-bayin. The Burmese who not long before had sacked Ayudhya, the capital of Siam, were living in the atmosphere of a great victory. The city was very splendid. Ralph Fitch, who visited the place ten years earlier, said it was a bigger and more imposing city than London. Ugga Byan and his prince were made welcome at Court. The poet's verses could be appreciated, for the language of the two Courts was very similar, and he became as celebrated there as at home. The poem here translated was written at this time. The princess, who is represented as speaking throughout, is supposed to be Prince Minkha-Maung's wife, lamenting over her husband's continued absence abroad.

King Razagri pardoned the delinquents after they had been in exile a couple of years and recalled them to Arakan, actuated partly, it may be, by the schemes he was even then evolving for the sack of Pegu, an enterprise which he put into effect in 1599, when he carried away to Arakan the Siamese loot in the Pegu treasury, and, in particular, the White Elephant, the possession of which was deemed sufficient patent for him to declare himself afterwards the leading Buddhist king in the world. Both the prince and the poet accompanied him on the expedition. But their inclination to conspire had not been damped, for in the course of the campaign they plotted a second time to take the King's life. Again their plot was discovered and again the King took a lenient course, in this case not even imposing the mild penalty of exile to an agreeable Court, but taking them back into full favour. His clemency is said to have been due to a brilliant feat of arms performed by the two companions, the nature of which is somewhat obscure and

seems to have consisted in their cutting their way through the enemy's ranks.

But the prince and the poet were incorrigible. In 1600, after the triumphal return to Arakan with the loot, they made a third attempt. They were at Sandoway, further down the coast, on a visit to its three famous pagodas, which contained relics of the Buddha in his various incarnations. Instead of confining themselves to works of piety, they released and armed the pagoda-slaves dedicated to the upkeep of those sacred edifices, and marching on Mrauk-u, the capital, sought by a *coup-de-main* to seize the throne. But Razagri, who had won notable campaigns both in India and Burma, was not so easily caught. He met, defeated, and captured the boon companions.

Taking the view that his son's lapses were wholly due to the bad influence of his tutor—a view, one feels, he might have taken earlier—he decided to separate the two for ever. The more obvious way to effect this would have been to execute Ugga Byan, but he selected another method which was equally effective. He dedicated the poet as a pagoda-slave to the great image of Mahāmuni.

It is difficult to comprehend the extreme of disgrace involved in such a punishment, because the conception of legal outcast does not exist among us. For the man who had been the idol of two courts, whose verses were repeated everywhere, and who had been the most influential literary and political personage in the realm, it was, in fact, a living death, as we must suppose it was meant to be. Not that his duties were painfully arduous, consisting as they did in sweeping the halls and enclosures of the shrine or working in the fields bequeathed for its upkeep. But he was ostracised, had no money, no company beyond his fellow slaves, prisoners of war, pirates, and such-like, no audience for his verses or facility for composing, and no hope, for once a pagoda-slave always a pagoda-slave. On the death of Razagri in 1612, his old friend Minkha Maung came to the throne. It is said that the new King thought of reinstating him in society, but public opinion and immemorial custom were too strong: even an absolute monarch could not prevail against them. Ugga Byan was obliged to remain a dedicated slave. What an interesting conversation might have taken place between him and Brother Manrique eighteen years later! The old grandee, bedraggled and burnt by the sun, had a story to tell of moving import. Milton blind under his oak, Villon on the scaffold, Rimbaud returning from Africa to die, such tragic circum-

stances touch us with peculiar force because they contrast so cruelly with the world of poetry. Ugga Byan, sweeping the withered leaves from the steps of the Mahāmuni, would have been a yet more poignant spectacle of distress. But perhaps the supposed interview with the friar would have been a tragi-comedy, for we know enough of Manrique's character and methods to be sure that he would have seized the opportunity to press (and with little tact) upon the pagan bard the consolations of Catholicism.

The poem translated below is regarded as Ugga Byan's masterpiece. A few palm-leaf copies of it are preserved in the possession of the literati of Arakan. The form is that known as the Ratu or Seasonal Ode, an Arakanese form dating from the eighth century and founded upon classical Hindu models. In such poems there are always twelve strophes describing the climate and festivals of the twelve months of the year. As they purport to be the complaint of a wife separated from her husband for one reason or another, they may be termed laments. Though the present one was written three hundred years ago in an Oriental country, whose religion and customs were far different from our own, it contains few obscurities, being, indeed, very much easier to understand than the generality of poems written to-day. It deals throughout with sentiments which are common to humanity all over the world and at all times, and its description of weather, festivals, and rural happenings is also universal. Being without sophistication, it is unlike the ordinary run of Court poetry. Indeed, to speak of it as Court poetry is misleading, for its feeling is that of the open air and of the heart of man, a quality to which it owes its enduring interest. For its complete comprehension it is only necessary to remind the reader of one circumstance. The Arakanese of the seventeenth century, who regarded themselves as followers of the Hinnayana or Apostolic school of Buddhism, held the Buddha, in as much as he was the only mortal to whom in that cycle the truth of things had been revealed, to be the master of the gods. He resided in the condition known as nirvana, which has no defined location, but the age-old gods of the Orient lived in defined paradises and continued their rôles of helping and hindering mankind, while looking up to Buddha as to a superior. Needless to say, this was not orthodox Hinnayana Buddhism, but it was certainly the practice at the time in question. With this hint the reader will have no difficulty in placing the celestial personages mentioned

in the poem, such as the Sun Lord, the Rain Lord, and the Lord of Paradise. The Buddhism we speak of had simply turned into Buddhists the gods known in India as Surya, Parjanya, and Indra, and left them to go on with their ancient avocations.

We are now equipped to read the poem, which in addition to the reasons already stated has the further actuality that the account it gives of Arakan is in no whit old-fashioned, for rural life there to-day, the crops, the festivals, and customs, continue much as they were in the seventeenth century.

*Tabaung—March. The lady offers spring flowers at a forest shrine on behalf of her absent Lord.*

To-day I took early the forest path :  
 Here a parched wind was driving the fallen leaves,  
 But already new sprays feathered the boughs,  
 So young and fresh that tears came to my eyes.  
 By the wayside were all the flowers of Tabaung,  
 Each in his choice place, like a jewel well set,  
 The Silver Flower, the Flower of a Hundred Passions,  
 The multitude of the forest flowers of spring.  
 So, hushed by sweet odours, neither hot nor a-cold,  
 I went in prayer for you, picking a nosegay  
 Of blossoms the brightest that I could find ;  
 And with it on my head I climbed the steps  
 And offered it to Buddha in his niche.

*Tagu—April. She prays that miraculously her Lord may return and go with her to the boat races.*

Let me recite my prayer with lifted hands.  
 Tabaung is over and gone ; Tagu begins ;  
 The New Year comes with its merry festivals ;  
 But you are far from me at a foreign court.  
 The rains will soon fall, but you have not written ;  
 No message of love, not a word, have you sent :  
 Are you not longing to be home in the springtime ?  
 I heard a bird sing in the forest to-day :  
 Its voice was my voice calling you to come back.  
 What if the Lord of Paradise from his seat on Mount Meru  
 Should hear and transport you suddenly to me !  
 This year the boat-races are on the River of Jems,  
 South of the city of the Golden Monkey's Egg.



*Kason—May. Watching the thunderstorms that prelude the monsoon, she is the more saddened by her Lord's absence.*

The Water Feast is past ; a new moon waxes,  
And waxes my longing for your return, love.  
Everywhere doves woo in the tamarind trees,  
Where sunlight is a mist of coolest green ;  
And parrots like an emerald canopy  
Fly overhead and wheel and skim away.  
Ah ! that together we might watch the sky,  
And see, as I to-day, the Rain Lord mass  
His thunder-clouds ; behold the joyous Sun Lord,  
Brave in his coat of a myriad scarlet flames,  
Issue and set his horses at a gallop  
In circuit of the Mount of Paradise !  
The Lord of the Mount, reclining on the summit,  
Indulgent, kindly, looked on a-while well pleased,  
Until, an amber wand in his left hand,  
His right upholding a sword, he gave an order.  
At once the Rain Lord summoned back the clouds,  
Darkened the sky, shot javelin flashes down,  
And flung a sudden shower to settle the dust.  
But these enchantments, which should be my comfort,  
Made me the more depressed, for I remembered  
That last year when I watched the thunderstorms  
You sat beside me on a scarlet rug.

*Nayon—June. As the wet fields wait for the plough, so does she wait for her Lord.*

Last month the monsoon struggled to break loose ;  
But now a free rain-wind has set south-west,  
A wind of clouds, which rise from a horned sea  
And hang like black silk drapings over earth.  
Longer and heavier the showers ; the rain spills down :  
Time is to look to cattle and to plough gear.  
In fields, no longer parched, the egrets peck,  
Their young at heel learning to find the worm,  
Till, sated all, they fly, fond wing to wing.  
The palace stands above these waiting fields ;  
I look them over from the Eastern Terrace.  
That my sight carried to the eastern land,  
The cruel land that denies my love to me !

*Wazo—July. The rainy season discomforts her as she lies thinking of her Lord.*

Half a year is gone ; monks begin already  
 To prepare for Lent in forest retreats.  
 No longer the Sun Lord circumambulates  
 The sacred Mount, while ever the Rain Lord  
 Empties his water, though prone on the ground  
 I beseech the Heavenly Lord to stop him :  
 But daily a sky like a dirty clout  
 And air so damp that my clothes are mildewed.  
 Humid my pillow, the pillow we shared ;  
 My tears overflow, as tossing I lie  
 And hear from the closes and monastery gardens  
 The boom of bronze gongs and the snap of wood clappers,  
 Hour by slow hour till the first cockcrow.

*Wagaung—August. At the height of the rains she reproaches her Lord that he is less merciful than the Lord of Paradise.*

Wazo indeed was wet, but in Wagaung  
 A deluge tumbles down without respite,  
 Drumming morosely on the palace roof,  
 Enough to dull me were my spirits good,  
 In my abandonment a sound most desolate.  
 Desolate, too, the view of the wide plain,  
 Stretching to hills scarce seen in driving mist,  
 A checker-board of squares, each square a swamp,  
 Dotted with pale green spikelets of young rice.  
 Yet, I know well that were the rain to cease,  
 We should haste with gifts to the holy shrines  
 Lest the rice shrivelled, and the Lord of Heaven  
 Would answer our prayers, for mercy is his rule.  
 But you nor prayer nor grief makes merciful ;  
 Harder your heart than his, more cold, aloof.  
 I write in tears ; autumn is not far off.  
 How can you linger when you know my heartache ?

*Tawthalin—September. With the passing of the rains longing assails her the more ardently.*

The last of the rain feebly dribbles away.  
 Tawthalin's ripening glow covers the land :  
 On every hillside patch of rice men laugh ;  
 From every hilltop garden they scare birds ;  
 Watching the crops go yellow all are cheered.  
 The farmer's house is gay with talk and friends ;

Bird-song and bee-done swell the hum of gladness ;  
 Filled with wild sounds, the forest trembles with life,  
 And he that walks in it feels no fatigue.  
 Ah ! love, all the love-thoughts, all the old longings  
 Of so many months rise and assail me now !  
 If on these nights of Tawthalin we two  
 Could be lying in my chamber, side by side,  
 I would have you as close to me as the chain  
 Of emeralds that winds about my throat.

*Wagyut—October. She describes the happiness of the people at the end of  
 Lent and the vision of her Lord that she had at that season.*

Over is Lent at last, and all make ready  
 For the Feast of Lights when the moon is full :  
 Some renew the sacred white umbrellas,  
 Make coloured lanterns in the form of beasts,  
 And flower-sprays to carry in procession ;  
 Others observe the Precepts, Eight and Five,  
 Doing the charity that becomes a Buddhist ;  
 An idler sort, with mirth to give away,  
 Parade the town to the sound of flute and gong.  
 The children, too, have games for these glad days :  
 They knead their cooked rice into toy pagodas,  
 Stand in a ring and shout old songs in chorus,  
 Clapping the time with bamboos and with hands.  
 So each awaits the night of plenitude,  
 When every window-sill, and every niche,  
 And all the battlements will burn with lamps.  
 I too await it ; daring still to hope,  
 I rose to pray this morn when thick the mist,  
 And peering in the veil of seething grey  
 Believed I saw you issue from its folds,  
 A-gallop towards the Gate of the White Elephant.

*Tasaungmon—November. At the Festival of Sulāmuni, when lamps are  
 offered to the Buddha's image in Paradise, she confesses that she has  
 nearly given up hope.*

The sign of Tasaungmon is a chilly wind.  
 Still festivals and fairs are in every village :  
 Those who would worship the Sulāmuni,  
 The Lord's image that is shrined in Paradise,  
 Erect a bamboo sixty cubits in height  
 And run a rope of lanterns to the top  
 With music and a catch of rural song.

That I could offer up such lamps with you !  
 Day in, day out, my prayers for your return  
 Have gone to the holy relics of the Buddha ;  
 But no power heeds, no answer is vouchsafed.  
 Nevertheless I pray on, though the winds of night  
 Nip me as I linger kneeling at my shrine,  
 Hope on the ebb : how long the empty months  
 Since first I plucked the nosegay of spring flowers !

*Nadaw—December. She complains that the angels of the lesser paradises have neglected to comfort her and states that she has reported them for idleness to both the earthly and the heavenly great images of the Buddha.*

Flowers of Nadaw have come, but nights are cold,  
 Bitterly cold for one who waits alone,  
 Supper-time passed, yet without appetite,  
 Hungry for one thing, the warmth of your kiss.  
 Why do the sprites who bask in the Six Regions  
 Allow so cruel a cold to bite us here ?  
 It is their duty to be good to mortals,  
 And often I remind them. But no use,  
 For they are idle, in the mild fields playing,  
 Nor do trouble to bestow their comforting.  
 Such is their negligence, I have petitioned,  
 Raising respectful hands to their Master and mine,  
 To Mahāmuni, his image by the city,  
 And to Sulāmuni in Tavatimsa,  
 Which is beyond the cities of this world.

*Pyatho—January. She recalls how her Lord looked at his going and tormented by a cold wind from strange places fears he is dead.*

This is a colder winter than last year :  
 A bright sun, but a north wind, and a fog  
 In the mornings like a blanket of fluffy cotton ;  
 And though I settle cloth screens round my bed,  
 The draught gets under them and makes me shiver.  
 If only you were back with me again,  
 Wearing the gold ring that the King gave you !  
 I can exactly see you as you looked  
 The morning when you left me and set out,  
 Your eye as large and liquid as a planet,  
 And in your air something obscure and lofty.  
 There is a region where no sunbeams are,  
 The icy valleys of the Himalaya,  
 Wherein are marvels, elephants as pale

As lily flowers, with trunks as pythons long,  
And tigers with the eyes of cooing doves,  
And doves with eyes that burn with yellow fire,  
And men the hue of lapis lazuli.  
From those unwonted vales a wind is blowing,  
A wind of spectral fancies which torment,  
And toss my mind, and squeeze my breath away  
With dread that I may never see you more.

*Tabodwe—February. She relates how she sat up all night on the full moon of Tabodwe, watching the people tug for good crops, and how at dawn, seeing the wild flowers, she recalled that her Lord had been absent a full year.*

My window fronted on the rising moon.  
The cold was gone ; through the soft evening air  
Festival crowds flowed into the capital,  
Singing the songs that fructify the land,  
Till the whole city was full of their sound.  
Laughing and shouting in light-heartedness,  
Groups of men gathered at the tugs-of-war,  
Settling their friends and sisters ready in line,  
Urging the girls to grip well on the rope,  
And the boys to give a long pull together.  
So for hours were they happy and high-spirited,  
In bright clothes, very bright in their gold ornaments,  
The beat of the band-music always higher  
When a new tug began or the victors danced.  
Night advanced ; the moon swung over the city ;  
The streets were still full of the same mad crowd,  
That posed and pirouetted, shouting jests,  
Not one of them with any thought of sleep.  
I sat on watching ; midnight was long gone ;  
The early cocks were crowing ; still I lingered,  
A lonely woman, lonelier that joy  
So lavishly was shared by all but her.  
And suddenly the eastern sky was pearl !  
The birds awoke, began to hop and stretch,  
Open their wings and wheel above the tops,  
And fill the forest morning with their song.  
My eyes went after them, I saw beyond  
Flowers everywhere, on tree and every bush  
A fire of flowers, the same wild flowers of spring  
I plucked a year ago with such fond prayers,  
With such fond hopes, for you have not come back.



### Three new inscriptions from Hadhramaut

By H. ST. J. B. PHILBY

(PLATES X AND XI)

THE three inscriptions shown in Plates X and XI were copied by Mr. Harold Ingrams in the course of a journey from Bir 'Ali (? the ancient Cana or Kana) on the south coast of Arabia to Shabwa and Al 'Abr during the last ten days of April, 1939. At an early stage of that journey he passed through the great wall of Wadi Bana, in whose gateway stands the celebrated record known as the "Obne inscription" (R.E.S. 2687) and first discovered by Adolph von Wrede in 1843. Beyond this point Mr. Ingrams noted or collected a number of graffiti, pictures, and "inscribed stones", none of which are at present available for examination. But it was not till he reached the pass of 'Aqaba Futura (3,500 feet above sea-level and about a week's journey from the wall) at the head of Wadi 'Arma, flowing westward across the plateau to Shabwa and eventually into Wadi Hadhramaut, that he found his first considerable inscription, No. 1 (Plate X). The second inscription, No. 2 (Plate XI), was found on the final pass, 'Aqabat 'Aqaiba (2,750 feet), leading down from the plateau to the Shabwa plain, while the third of this group, No. 3 (Plate XI), was found near the desert well of Al 'Abr, 56 miles north of Shabwa.

To take the last and least important of these records first: No. 3 comprises a small group of apparently meaningless signs (unless they are tribal Wasms or magic symbols) on the left and a group of letters on the right, which seem to defy complete decipherment although, reading the record from left to right, we would seem to be justified in identifying the beginning as  $\Psi\chi\alpha$  or  $\Psi\chi\alpha\kappa$ . This word is given by Rossini (*Chrestomathia*, p. 147) as meaning some unidentified kind of spice or perfume. It is an interesting word to find at so vital a point on one of the ancient spice-roads of Southern Arabia; and with a slight stretch of the imagination we might read the whole group as  $\Psi\chi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ , presumably meaning "perfume of myrrh", cf. Rossini, op. cit., p. 181.

No. 2 may be discussed next as it would seem to be posterior in date to No. 1. It consists of three lines, and Mr. Ingrams' copy—unfortunately he was unable to photograph it owing to the lateness

၁၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၁၀၁၁၂၁၃၁၄၁၅၁၆၁၇၁၈၁၉၂၀၂၁၂၂၂၃၂၄၂၅၂၆၂၇၂၈၂၉၃၀၃၁၃၂၃၃၃၄၃၅၃၆၃၇၃၈၃၉၄၀၄၁၄၂၄၃၄၄၄၅၄၆၄၇၄၈၄၉၅၀၅၁၅၂၅၃၅၄၅၅၅၆၅၇၅၈၅၉၆၀၆၁၆၂၆၃၆၄၆၅၆၆၆၇၆၈၆၉၇၀၇၁၇၂၇၃၇၄၇၅၇၆၇၇၇၈၇၉၈၀၈၁၈၂၈၃၈၄၈၅၈၆၈၇၈၈၈၉၉၀၉၁၉၂၉၃၉၄၉၅၉၆၉၇၉၈၉၉

INGRAMS 1. 'AQABA FUTURA.



of the hour—is defective at some vital points; and my suggestion that it is the later of the two inscriptions on this route depends largely on the conjectural restoration in the last line of the word  $\Pi\text{A}\mathfrak{A}$ , of which only the  $\Pi$  survives. The missing word cannot be  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{A}$ ; and, as it is followed by the name Hadhramaut, it is reasonable to suppose that we have to do with a Mukarrib of Hadhramaut not a king. This is particularly interesting because, so far as I can discover, we have only one other record of the title of Mukarrib in connection with Hadhramaut, namely in the Obne (Bana) inscription which records the building of the great wall as a defence against Himyarite aggression. The famous tribe of Himyar first appeared on the stage of history in connection with the struggle for power between rival kings of Saba in the years immediately preceding 115 B.C., the first year of the official era of the kingdom of Saba and dhu Raidan. The protagonists of that struggle were 'Alhan Nahfan and Far'am Yanhab (both *circa* 145 B.C.), the respective chiefs of the important (and still extant) tribes of Hashid (Hamdan) and Bakil (Marthad); and it is recorded of Far'am Yanhab and his son, Il-sharḥ Yaḥdhub, that they were involved in war with Himyar and other tribes. It is unnecessary to discuss the permutations and combinations of the tribal alliances of this long period of war in South Arabia; but it is clear that at the time referred to in the Obne inscription Hadhramaut and its rulers had reason to fear attack by the Himyarites. It is tempting to suppose that Hadhramaut was at this time in league with Far'am Yanhab or Il-sharḥ Yaḥdhub against 'Alhan Nahfan, although shortly afterwards we find the latter's son, Sha'irm Autar, joining with Himyar in an attack on Hadhramaut, then under King Il-'adhdh, the successor and presumably son of Yad'a-ab Ghailan. At the dawn of the great era of the Kings of Saba and dhu-Raidan (115 B.C.) Hadhramaut was the cynosure of Arabian power politics; but Fritz Hommel (*Handbuch der Altarabischen Altertumskunde*, p. 103) refers to the Obne inscription as belonging to "this later period" (i.e. the end of the third century A.D.) on the evidence of the use of the title Mukarrib, and we have no evidence justifying the assumption of an earlier date. Assuming therefore that Yar'ash son of Ab-Yaś'a, was the first (and only hitherto known) Mukarrib of Hadhramaut, we may provisionally place the beginning of his term of office at about A.D. 300, when the kingdom of Hadhramaut was finally absorbed by Saba. The same inscription names three









or castle of 'Armū—a name which survives to this day in Wadi 'Arma, rising in 'Aqaba Futura and running down to and beyond Shabwa. The word 𐩣𐩣𐩠 occurs in several of my 'Uqla inscriptions, notably in 85 and 87 in combination with 𐩣𐩠, and Mr. Beeston has discussed the phrase in detail (op. cit., pp. 442-3), suggesting that it should be translated: "proclaim himself and assume his title." Mr. Ingrams' copy has 𐩣𐩣𐩠 quite clearly, but his second line begins 𐩣𐩠𐩠𐩠 (and possibly one or two obliterated letters on the right). My first inclination was to emend this very simply to 𐩣𐩠𐩠𐩠 (fortified or constructed), but a careful inspection of the photographs seems to give 𐩣𐩠𐩠 as the surviving reading, and I would emend this to 𐩣𐩠𐩠, or 𐩣𐩠𐩠 (𐩣𐩠)𐩠𐩠𐩠𐩠. This represents a very slight variation on the phrase discussed by Mr. Beeston, and I would suggest that its occurrence away from 'Uqla is very significant. It is particularly significant also that this phrase is used in connection with all the kings mentioned in the 'Uqla inscriptions *except* *Yad'a-il Bayin, the founder of Shabwa*. If, therefore, Mr. Beeston's interpretation is correct, we may legitimately infer that, before the founding of Shabwa and the adoption of 'Uqla (Anwad) as the scene of the coronation ceremonies, the Kings of Hadhramaut had their capital in Wadi 'Arma and used a fort or high-place at or near 'Aqaba Futura for these ceremonies. So in this inscription we get unexpected and indeed quite sensational confirmation of Mr. Beeston's brilliant guess at the meaning of what was virtually a *ᾠπαξ λεγόμενον*. Nevertheless it is still not improbable that the accession ceremonies of the kings of Hadhramaut included some act of ceremonial or ritual building, to which the phrase under discussion may be related. 𐩣𐩠 is too familiar as a word meaning "paving a road" (see Rossini, *Chr.*, p. 224) to be translated without more specific evidence in the way Mr. Beeston suggests, namely "assuming one's title"—incidentally another meaning of this root in Arabic, namely "roasting", might be even more appropriate here in view of the sacrifices referred to in the same line. I would in this connection draw attention to Ryckmans' (*Noms propres*, vol. 1, p. 128) comparison of Arabic ملة, meaning "charcoal" or "braising", with the Thamudic 𐩣𐩠. On the other hand Arabic مَلَّ appears to mean "strong". So we seem to have a choice between the meanings "fortified and paved" (the pass or the guard-tower as the case



inscriptions (*vide JRAS.*, October, 1944, p. 125). A name ending in 𐩇 is obliterated at the beginning of the 5th line, while the next two names are not very clear. Mr. Ingrams' copy gives them as 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣, but it is difficult to get this reading out of the photograph, which seems to give 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣. Ryckmans (*op. cit.*, p. 283) quotes Thamudic authority for 𐩢𐩣𐩠, and (*op. cit.*, p. 111) Lihyanic authority for 𐩧𐩢𐩣—he transcribes it in Arabic as ٤٤— as a proper name. Perhaps it would be as well to regard these names as doubtful. The next name is missing altogether, but the epithet attached to the individual in question is Habashi (the Abyssinian or man of the Habashat province). The next name is mutilated by a bullet-hole, but begins 𐩠𐩣 or 𐩢𐩣 and ends 𐩢𐩣 with one letter between the two groups. I cannot suggest a suitable restoration. The last of the King's associates is clearly 𐩢𐩣𐩠; but the next part of the inscription at the end of line 5 and the beginning of line 6 is unfortunately badly mutilated—unfortunately because it evidently records the act in connection with which the sacrifices were offered. So far as it can be deciphered it reads:

. 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣 . . . . 𐩧 . . . ) 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣

𐩢𐩣𐩠 . . 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣 . . 𐩧𐩢𐩣

The first part of this seems to be interpretable as "when he (or they) founded (or walled) . . .", but the rest is almost impossible to interpret satisfactorily. The analogy of similar building records, and the occurrence three times of the figure 𐩧𐩢𐩣 (or 𐩧𐩢𐩣) suggests a catalogue of tribes with the contingents of workmen supplied by them. 𐩢𐩣𐩠 is a well-known personal and tribal name (Kulaib?), and it is tempting, as I have done on Plate I, to read 𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣 for 𐩢𐩣𐩠. For the third tribal name I suggest 𐩢𐩣𐩠 (Yam), but this is no more than a guess as the third letter is entirely obliterated.

The seventh and last (short) line obviously refers to the recording of the inscription itself. After an uncertain number of missing letters at the beginning we quite clearly have 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠 ("the inscription") and perhaps we should read 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣 "these lines". The next word is rather doubtful and may be 𐩧𐩢𐩣, while the last word is clearly 𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣. "By the order of Barqam" might be a possible meaning, but the last word may be connected with the Arabic root *rqm* in the sense of "recording", for which I can find no old



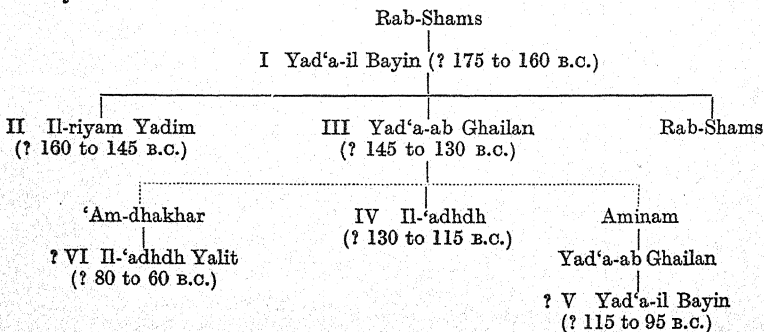
epigraphic authority. If so the phrase may mean something like "was placed on record".

I offer the following translation of the inscription as a whole:—

"Yad'a-il Bayin, King of Hadhramaut, son of Rab-shams of the freemen of Yahbar (made a burnt offering) at the citadel of 'Armu, and (slew) 20 hyenas and killed 4 leopards and 2 lynxes and 8 ibexes: with 'Amas, son of Nasran, and Hashim and Malkan and Hauf-il and Dad-il Watr . . . and . . . Mardam and Sa'd-lat and Falil and Wahab and Thaur . . . and (Thiq and Yaman) and . . . Ḥabashi and (Yubham) and Sa'd, when he built . . . with 200 (men) of Yam and 100 of Asad and 200 of Kulalb, and this inscription (was placed on record)."

Mr. Ingrams is to be congratulated on having secured this small collection of obviously important records, and it is to be hoped that he or others will continue the good work on this and other links between the south coast of Arabia and the main "spice-road" of the interior.

Before concluding I would like to refer once more to the question of dating these Hadhramaut kings. It seems to me that we have one little thread of evidence regarding another Hadhramaut king, whom I did not venture above to fit into the period discussed above (say 175 B.C. to A.D. 29). This is the Yad'a-il Bayin of Glaser 1623, whose place in Hadhramaut chronology Fritz Hommel (op. cit., p. 102) was content to leave in suspense. The fact that he (with his father and grandfather) is mentioned in my Shabwa inscription (*Muséon*, 169) as dedicating an offering to Sin would certainly suggest that he reigned at Shabwa. He cannot be placed before 115 B.C., nor in my "Mukarrib period" from 50 B.C. onwards. His name and his father's suggest affinities with the 'Uqla kings, and very tentatively I offer the following reconstruction of the family tree:—





## Kingship and Enthronement in Malaya

By R. O. WINSTEDT

(PLATES XII AND XIII)

THERE are two rulers in Malaya who claim descent from a Bichitram (? = Viçitram), reputed kinsman of the Sri Mahārājas of Sri Vijaya, the Buddhist empire (fl. A.D. 750-1350) that extended over Sumatra and Northern Malaya and for a while Java. The name Bichitram is whispered into the ear of every Perak Sultan at his enthronement as that of the ancestor of the Perak (and old Malacca) dynasty. And Bichitram, according to the *Sejarah Melayu*, was brother of the first king of Palembang (= Sri Vijaya) and Singapore, and was himself ancestor of the Minangkabau line, from which the Yang di-pertuan of Negri Sembilan claims descent.

The folk-lore of the *Sejarah Melayu*, however, confuses the history of Sri Vijaya (which had relations with the Palas of Bengal) with that of its Chōla conquerors and derives the spear side of these Malay dynasties from chieftains in North Arcot, Trichinopoli, Tanjore, and possibly Chingleput, who were related by descent or marriage. Shulan must be the dynastic name of the Chōlas of Negapatam. The Amdan, with which one recension connects them, may be Aṇḍam, i.e. Aṇḍa-nāḍu in North Arcot. Chulin of Lenggiu may be a Chōla of Ilaṅgai-tivu, Tamil for Laṅkā-dvīpa or Ceylon. Raja Suran could be Rājesūran, the Tamil form of Rājēśvara or else the legendary Raja Sura of Tirukkalukkunram in Chingleput. His three "sons", Jiran of Chandragiri, Chulan of Vijaya-nāgara, and Pandyan of Negapatam, must be corruptions of the names of the Chēra, Chōla, and Pāṇḍya dynasties, though the Chēras never ruled Chandragiri, the Chōlas were nearly extinct before Vijaya-nāgara arose and the Pāṇḍya kingdom never included Tanjore, in which Negapatam lies. Paladutani, son of Chulan, may be Pāṇḍavāyana "descendant of Pandu". Jambuga (= Jambuka), son of Adhirāja-rāma (alias Adhivīra), is apparently connected with Jambukēśvaram or Tiruvanaikaval, a place in Trichinopoli with an important temple.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever their genealogy, it is the enthronement of the two

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. L. D. Barnett for the identifications in this paragraph.

Malay rulers claiming this descent from Palembang or Sri Vijaya that happens to have been described by observers.

To understand the awe Malays still have for their rulers one has to explore the origin of their divine right. In his latest avatar, a Yang di-pertuan, He-who-is-made-master, is the Shadow of Allah on earth, whose blood is held to be white as in the veins of Muslim saints. But formerly it was as an incarnation or receptacle of a Hindu divinity or a Boddhisatva that he was credited with white blood, and the rulers of Perak and Negri Sembilan are still installed with Brahminical and Buddhist ceremony. Moreover, under the Muslim Caliph and the Hindu-Buddhist ruler, there remain traces of the shaman from Yunnan and affinities with the emperors of China and Japan. The custom in Japan and formerly in Malaya of vacating the palace of a dead predecessor and starting a new capital, the custom of giving dead kings posthumous titles, the couch-throne found in Japan's oldest enthronement ritual and in parts of Indonesia, the reverence for regalia without which no Japanese or Malay can become a ruler, all these would appear to belong to a very early layer of civilization.

#### THE MALAY KING AS SHAMAN

Dayaks believe that at first the Creator stretched out the heavens no bigger than a mango, and a medicine-woman in a Dayak legend satisfies an army with rice steamed in a pot the size of a chestnut and with meat cooked in a pan the size of a bird's nest. The heads of the Perak royal drums are fabled to be the skins of lice and the clarionet to be made of a nettle stalk. The pillars of the palace of the Sultan of Minangkabau also were fashioned of nettle stalks, and the Sultan possessed a dagger formed of the soul of steel, coeval with the creation. Both Malay ruler and Malay shaman therefore were masters of the mannikin soul of things. And if as seems certain ideas derive from great centres of civilization, then this conception of the power of Malay kings and magicians will have come in prehistoric times to the Malays, as to China of the Chou period, from Babylonia or some other centre in the Middle East, to be carried from Yunnan down to the archipelago; a conception to be developed centuries later into the idea of a Malay king being a Hindu god, and to conclude in the Malay's ready acceptance of Islamic pantheism with the famous cry of Abu Sa'id that "there is nothing inside this coat but Allah".

As a Hindu god the Malay king was lord of the realm by virtue of possessing a miniature Mount Meru. But as Confucius reminds us, even five centuries before Christ there was "an earth-mound at the borders of a Chinese town or village, interpreted as symbolizing the whole soil of the territory in which it stood. It was often associated with a sacred tree or grove and with a *block or pillar of wood* which served as a resting place for spirits". Under the old wooden palace of Negri Sembilan hangs by a rope a carved truncated pillar (or oblong block) of wood, not reaching the ground and tabu for all but royalty. As we shall see, a palace or a temple came in time to symbolize the mound mentioned by Confucius.

The office of shaman, like that of ruler, is often hereditary among Malays, and both possess as insignia drums and tambourines baleful to those that touch them, even though the ruler's vengeful instruments have become part of a Muslim's *naubat* band. It is tempting to surmise that it is with the grass aspergillum of the shaman a Sultan of Perak sprinkles rice-paste on newly installed chiefs, but the brush of medicinal leaves used by the King of Siam before his coronation is prepared by Brahmins. However, as late as 1874, Perak folk saw nothing strange in their Sultan, 'Abdu'llah, sitting at a séance on the shaman's mat and becoming possessed by the genies of the State, who prophesied the death of the British Resident. Just as Japan had a spiritual head in the Mikado and a secular in the Shogun, so however it came by him, during the last two centuries at least Perak had in addition to its secular ruler a Sultan Muda holding the office of State Shaman, whose duty it was annually to revive the regalia by proffering them food and drink and on occasion to sacrifice to the guardian spirits of the country, brought within the fold of Muslim orthodoxy by inclusion under djinns who are all subservient to Allah.

While the Sultans of Malay port kingdoms waxed rich on tolls and dues, it is perhaps significant that like the shaman (and the Khassi chief) a Sultan of Minangkabau had no source of income beyond the produce of the royal demesne and voluntary contributions for ceremonial functions. But, though the Malay shaman frequently uses a tabu vocabulary, there appear to be no words reserved for himself and his actions, as there now are for rulers. It is notable, however, that in the old Indonesian tongue, Sundanese, the words *siram* "bathe", *gëring* "dry = sick", *ulu* "head", *bërangkat* "be carried = travel", *titah* "order", *mangkat* "borne



away, dead" are not, as in Malaya, reserved for royalty and tabu for others. Moreover the words "be carried" for the royal mode of progression, "borne away" as a euphemism for death, and "dry" for "sick" embody Hindu ideas that a king must never set foot on earth and that his subjects must never allude to him as liable to mortal ills.

#### THE MALAY KING INCARNATE AS A HINDU GOD

Along with those Indonesian words tabu in Malaya for all but royalty have been joined the Sanskrit words: *murka* "angry", *kurnia* "gift", *anugrah* "give". For to graft the Hindu conception of a divine king on to the Indonesian master of magic was in many respects easy. A man might be born a shaman or he might be made one by magic rites, just as a Hindu king, though hereditary, acquired divinity by the performance of the magic ritual of entronement, which under a Muslim veneer is still for Malays a Hindu and Buddhist ceremony.

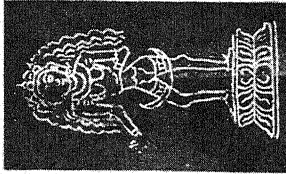
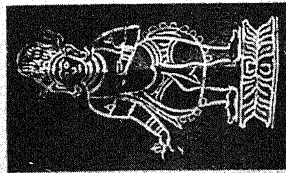
(1) As in Vedic times, as formerly in Burma and still in Siam and Cambodia, the first rite is lustration. In Perak the Sultan sits on a banana-stem, while water is poured down a banana-leaf over his shoulders by a hereditary herald of Sivaite origin entitled Sri Nara-diraja who alone outside the royal family may handle the regalia. In Negri Sembilan, at the last installation the ruler and his consort were seated on a nine-tiered bathing pavilion (Pl. XIII). Seven times the four Palace Officers circumambulated it, carrying rice-paste in a silver bowl, which each in turn presented to the royal couple, who four times dipped their right hands in it. So far from being an innovation on the Perak custom, "in Jataka reliefs in the Ananda temple, Pagān, there are coronation anointment scenes in which Brahmans are represented as offering consecrated water in conches, in small quantities suitable for anointment." Both in Siam and in Burma Buddhism substituted water for oil, and lustration and anointing are now apt to be merged. But in Siam after lustration the King dons royal dress and sits on a throne, where he is handed conches of anointment water, one at each quarter of the compass as he turns about. In Negri Sembilan this part of the symbolism has been forgotten or found inconvenient to carry out and the ruler sits facing east for all four anointings, not as in Vedic ritual only for the first.

Just as in Siam Brahmins chant stanzas of benediction, so pious Malay Muslims here chant prayers for the prosperity of their ruler.

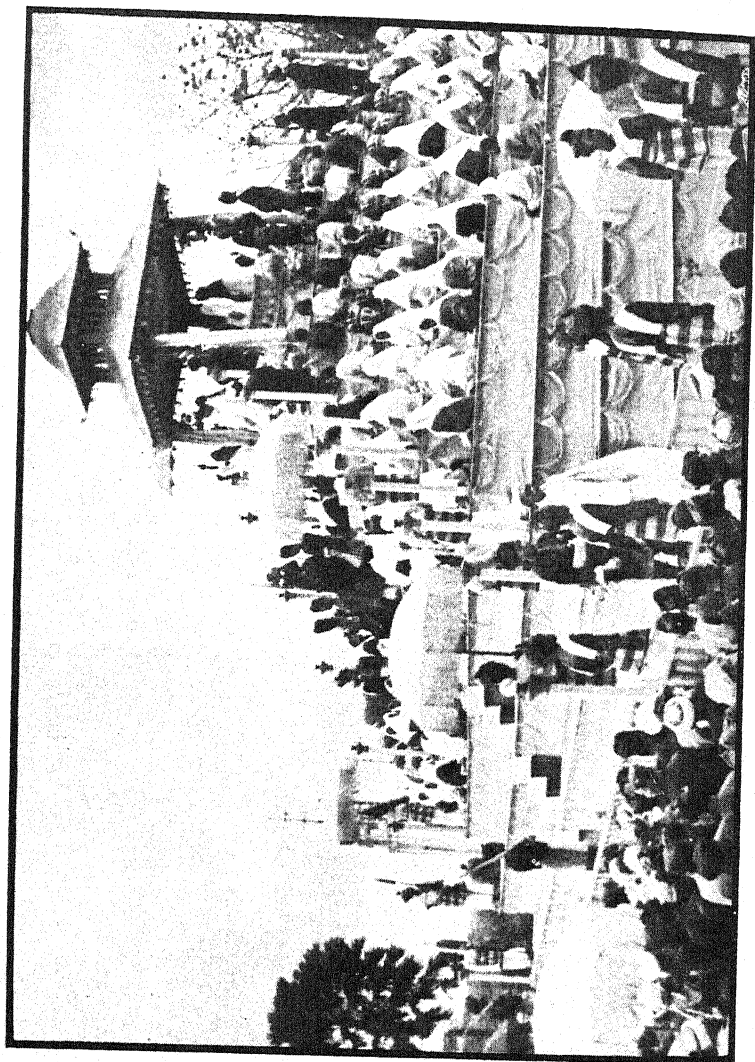
(2) After the lustration, the Perak Sultan dons royal dress. Like a Hindu god he wears a golden necklet and golden armlets, shaped like the dragon Antaboga. In his headdress is thrust a medieval seal, whose handle, it is stressed, is made of "thunder" (*gẽmpita*) wood that "causes matter to fly": it is called the "lightning seal" (*chap halilintar*) and must have taken the place of Indra's *vajra*, or thunderbolt symbol so often represented in Javanese sculpture. In Vedic time an Indian king was given at his coronation a wooden sword termed a thunderbolt as a weapon against demons. And in Japan, where it may be only a coincidence, the Emperor after being anointed is given a wooden baton as a badge of priestly office. From the Perak Sultan's shoulder hangs a State weapon (*churika Mandakini* "blade from the heaven-born Ganges") that still bears this name of the heavy sacrificial knife (Pl. XII) used by Aditiavarman, fourteenth century ruler of Minangkabau, as member of a demoniacal Bhairava sect professing a Tantric doctrine that connected the worship of Siva with the worship of Buddha. This type of knife figures in the sculpture of Borobudur and Prambanan and in images of Bhairavas at Singosari (Java) and Padang Rocho (Sumatra). Aditiavarman's knife formed part of the Minangkabau regalia and was discovered as recently as 1930 in the house of an old lady descendant of the former royal family: on the obverse and reverse of the blade inlaid in gold wire are the figures of a Bhairava and his *sakti*, one of the terrible manifestations of Siva and Mahadevi. In spite of its name the Perak weapon (unlike heavy Malay choppers called *parang churika* <sup>1</sup>) is a *sword* of Indian or Arab make, and in no wise archaic, though reputed to have belonged to Alexander the Great. In the Sultan's waist-belt is tucked his personal weapon, a creese. It is not on this creese but on the sword that the guardian spirits of the State may alight during the enthronement.

The ruler of Negri Sembilan whose ancestor came over from Minangkabau and carved out a throne in Malaya as late as the eighteenth century possesses no Hindu armlets and no historical weapons. He and his consort wear handsome Malay costume and in his belt is a fine creese, a family heirloom. Thus arrayed the Malay ruler is escorted in procession round his palace grounds.

<sup>1</sup> Note: *kṣurikā* Skt., *churigā* Prakrit



TWO FACES OF THE MINANGKABAU *CHURIKÁ* AND A PANEL OF THE PERAK STATE TRUMPET.



PAÑCA-PRASĀDA AT THE ENTHRONEMENT OF A SULTAN OF SELANGOR, 1939.

The ruler of Negri Sembilan with his consort is seated under a yellow-curtained canopy on a heavy processional car, termed Maharaja 'diraja. It is not said if the car circles the royal precincts more than once but apparently not. It is drawn by a body of retainers called The Ninety-Nine. In front are carried regalia and royal umbrellas, behind the royal flags.

In Perak the Sultan circumambulates the royal demesne seven times to the thud and blare of the *naubat* drums, trumpet (Pl. XII, and see *JRAS.*, 1944, p. 193, n.), and clarionet, escorted by courtiers carrying flags and pennons, creeses, lances, and swords.

In modern Siam it is after the coronation that the King has circumambulated his capital the way of the sun.

This circumambulation of palaces recalls how the royal house of Sri Vijaya was connected with Mount Meru, which in Hindu and Buddhist mythology is the pivot of the universe, the heaven of Indra, wielder of the thunderbolt and controller of weather. There is no difficulty about the siting of a Mount Meru in Sumatra at Palembang—which (it has not so far been noted) is corroboration that the spot was a capital of Sri Vijaya. For Hinduism gave the name to many mountains just as the Olympian gods, wherever their worshippers moved, dwelt on the highest mountain there, making it an Olympus. In the museum at Batavia there is or was a sculptured Meru being transported by the gods from India to Java! So in Burma, Siam, Indochina, and Indonesia, the capitals of old kingdoms in sequence from a more ancient symbol, had like Angkor a hillock or like Angkor Thom a Buddhist shrine or like Bali a Hindu temple or like Mandalay a palace-tower, all of them identified with Mount Meru.

Convenne rege aver, che discernesse  
della vera cittade almen la torre.

The owner of such a hill, temple, or palace was a receptacle or incarnation of Siva or Vishnu or Indra; always of Indra where Hinayana Buddhism admitted no immortal god, the long-lived lord of Meru being the next best thing, and it was as lord of the state's symbolic Meru that the King guarded the fortunes of his people. The Tamil poem *Manimekalai* mentions two Malayan kings who claimed descent from Indra. *Bhisma* states that when a king is crowned, it is Indra who is crowned, and a person who desires prosperity should worship him as Indra

is worshipped. In Malay literature, the word Indra, which in Sanskrit can mean a prince as well as the god, was used to denote "royal", as, for example, Permaisuri Indra "royal princess" and Mahkota Indra "royal crown". And the synonym Isle of Indra for Penyengat where the Muslim Under-Kings of Riau lived in the eighteenth century may have had no other significance. In the same century Perak had three capitals, Brāhmaṇa Indra, Indra Śakti, and Indra Mulia. The capitals of Pahang (as well as one Sumatran State) was called Indrapura, "the town of Indra." The hill close behind the Negri Sembilan palace is The Hill of Sri Indra, which is unequivocal.<sup>1</sup> Sri Vijaya had its Sailendra dynasty, the house of the Indras or lords of the mountain.

If as in modern Siam the State religion was Hinayana Buddhism, then the lord of the Meru might occasionally claim to be a Boddhisatva or his worldly counterpart, a Chakravartin.

To circumambulate his Meru, whether hill or palace, was for the new sovereign, Hindu or Buddhist, to take possession of his kingdom in little.

In Hindu mythology the four faces of Mt. Meru are coloured, white towards the east, yellow towards the south, black towards the west, and red towards the north. It is probably not mere coincidence that these are the colours appropriate in Perak for the Sultan, the Heir Apparent, the Prime Minister, and the Minister of War respectively.

(3) In Perak, when the Sultan has entered the palace and taken his seat on the throne, his chief herald, Sri Nara-diraja proclaims the royal title and, as a Brahmin whispers into the ear of his pupil the name of the god who is to be the child's special protector through life, so the herald whispers to his new lord the State secret, Viçitram, the name of the lord of that Meru in old Palembang, ancestor and guardian of Perak royalty. Then he reads the *chiri*, a formula in corrupt Sanskrit, extolling the new ruler as a great king "who ravishes the three worlds by the jewels of his crown" and lauding his victory, his luck, his justice, his power of healing.

In Negri Sembilan, when the new Ruler and his consort are seated on their throne, the premier commoner chief tells the Court

<sup>1</sup> A Minangkabau tribal headman of Negri Sembilan, when suspected of offering a bribe to an official, protested that, if he were guilty, then might he be stricken by the magic of magnetic iron, by the thirty chapters of the Kuran, by the divine power of his Ruler and might his tree of life be killed by the borer-beetle of Indra Sakti!



Herald on the Right, of the electors' choice, whereupon the herald proclaims it in Brahminical attitude, that is, standing on one leg with the sole of the right foot resting against his left knee, his right hand shading his eyes and the tip of the fingers of his left hand pressed against his left cheek. Incense is burnt and a formula in Malay and Arabic is read, *not by one of the 'ulama but by one of the Four Court Officers*, an invocation to the angel of the rising sun, the angels on the right and left of the sky, the angel of the setting sun, the angel *Ḳaṭb* of the zenith to beseech Allah to enthrone the prince; and an invocation to *Ḳarnain* the horned angel of the moon<sup>1</sup> and to the four archangels of Islam to assist in his salvation. It was the guardians of five regions who were invoked in Vedic ritual.

It looks as if the choice of the reader was the survival of a Brahmin privilege and as if the Herald and the Four Court Officers must once have been Brahmins just as there are still Brahmins at the courts of Siam and Cambodia. The Sri Nara-diraja in Perak was obviously of Brahmin origin, and beef is tabu for his family.

But more interesting still is the fact that the combination of Perak's *chiri* with Negri Sembilan's fourfold "anointment" and subsequent invocation to the five regions of the heavens make up the Siamese rite when after lustration the King facing east first takes his seat on a throne. A court functionary (1) hails His Majesty as a victor and protector, and (2) offering water in a conch calls on him to guard and rule the eastern tracts of his realm. The Siamese King promises so to do and turns to the points of the compass one after the other—a similar address being made and answered at each.

Both in Negri Sembilan and in Perak the rulers have to sit as immobile as possible on their thrones, rigidity being evidence in

<sup>1</sup> The horned angel (or, in one version, princess) of the moon is an intruder. Alexander the Great was known to Muslims as *Dhu'l-Karnain* or "two-horned" from a phrase in the Kuran. And Muslim missionaries, needing a pedigree for royal converts to compensate for their loss of Hindu godhead, fabricated for them descent from Alexander the champion of Islam (as their reading showed), with the genealogy of the Sassanian kings and Kaid the Indian as a link. Alexander's connection with Meru was patent! Dionysus was born from the thigh (*mēros*) of Zeus and raiding India Alexander found near Meru the people of Nysa, named after Dionysus' nurse, who joined him in his raid on the Punjab. Once upon a time Alexander crossed to Andalus (Andalusia) and clearly this was Andalas (Sumatra); so Minangkabau folk-lore has put his tomb on the slopes of Palembang's Meru! It was therefore a brilliant thought to invoke the horned angel (or princess) of the moon to protect the descendant of Alexander the two-horned!

Hindu ritual of incipient godhead. In Perak the Sultan has to remain utterly still while the *naubat* band plays a certain number of tunes, not more than nine or less than four. The Sri Nara-diraja lights the royal candles (or ? candle) and asks the Sultan to fix the number of tunes. Negri Sembilan lacks the Muslim accretion of the *naubat*.

(4) The Sultan of Perak sits to hear the *naubat* enthroned, while pages bearing the regalia squat to right and left. But no account speaks of swords and daggers being displayed. In Negri Sembilan, as soon as one of the Four Palace Officers has read the invocations to the angel guardians of the five regions of the sky, the regalia are displayed, weapons being taken from their wrappings and unsheathed for a moment and then covered again. Although no mention is made of further details at the last enthronement of a ruler of Negri Sembilan, a previous record set forth how "the Panglima Raja stands on the ruler's right and holds the Great Spear and the Panglima Sultan stands on the left and holds the Royal Sword. Beyond them are the two Laksamanas similarly equipped. Beyond them are retainers with eight tufted spears, eight long creeses, eight tapers, eight water-vessels, and other symbols of power. When all is ready, the insignia are shown solemnly to the spectators. The weapons are taken out of their yellow wrappings, the royal umbrellas are opened, the royal candles are lit, the water-vessels and betel boxes are lifted on high for all to see. A copy of the Koran is set down before these mighty regalia and ewers filled with every kind of holy water are arranged before them. One ewer contains water mingled with blood; another contains water with a bullet in it; another rice-paste."

It will be a pity if these old-world details are abandoned. For in Siam and Cambodia princes, courtiers, and officials drink twice a year water of allegiance in which the Court Brahmins have dipped the State Sword and other royal weapons. Newly appointed chiefs in Perak used to be sworn to allegiance on water in which the State sword had been dipped.

(5) Next, in Negri Sembilan the Herald on the Right once more assumes his uneasy Brahminical posture and calls on the four territorial chiefs to pay homage. Each chief in turn on every one of the seven steps of the dais lifts folded palms to forehead, kisses the ruler's hand three times, and still seated (cross-legged) retires backward down the steps, lifting hands in homage five times.

Lesser chiefs lift hands nine times advancing and seven times retiring.

In Perak, it is said, a chief touches the Sultan's knees with forehead and lips or puts his head under his Sultan's feet.

#### THE MALAY KING AS CALIPH

(6) In Negri Sembilan the ceremony closes with a Muslim accretion, just as in Siam it closes with the modern assumption of a crown. The local Kathi recites a prayer in Malay asking Allah's guidance for the new Khalifah He has raised to the throne, the guidance He gave to the Prophet Solomon.

Here the Perak account is vague. But it is suggested that the prayer with the Kuranic verse on Allah having appointed a new Caliph as His vicegerent precedes the homage.

So finishes the ceremony, but several kindred points deserve notice. To-day in Perak, as in Siam, the ruler's consort is separately installed, and in Perak in deference to Muslim prejudice the spectators are women. But an eighteenth century history of Perak, the *Misa Melayu*, records how in 1756 a Sultan and his consort were enthroned together. In matriarchal Negri Sembilan in 1936 the Ruler (perhaps wrongly in theory) installed his consort first, before he was an anointed king endowed with royal authority: in Siam the King installs his consort afterwards.

There are several other parallels between Malay and Siamese kingship. As in ancient China new posthumous names are given to dead rulers. The King of Siam keeps an albino elephant, albino monkey, and albino crow: till modern times, albino children were a perquisite of the ruler of Negri Sembilan. Umbrellas must be closed near Malay as well as near Siamese palaces, as they are the homes of incarnate gods. For the same reason no one might have a higher seat than a Malay or Siamese ruler even in a carriage or car. It was taboo to spill royal blood. Head and hair of rulers were sacred. Only, however, in Trengganu has there survived a form of top-spinning conducted (several centuries ago) by Brahmins in Siam to foretell the fortunes of the realm.

In old Malacca, Perak, and Negri Sembilan there has been the same preoccupation with 4, 8, 16, and 32 that Dr. Heine-Geldern has detected in other kingdoms of Farther India and the same division into officers of the right and left hand. Malacca and Perak

have had 4 great, 8 major, 16 minor, and 32 petty chiefs. Even the ground-plan of an old Perak palace shows pillars in sets of 8 making 32 for each main section of the building. In Negri Sembilan, and probably in other States, salutes numbered 8, 16, and 32. Negri Sembilan too has 4 princes of the blood, 4 territorial chiefs, 4 major court officers, and only the ruler may have 4 wives. The regalia of the ruler of Negri Sembilan comprise 8 tufted spears, 8 swords, 8 creeses, 8 large candles, 8 small tapers, 8 betel-boxes, 8 handfuls of ashes, 8 water-vessels, 16 pennons, and 16 umbrellas. In Burma the King was required to have 4 queens, 4 lesser consorts, 4 chief ministers, 4 heralds, 4 messengers, 8 assistant secretaries. For the first part of his coronation a Siamese King sits on an octagonal throne. Fifty years ago when a shaman's *séance* was being conducted to cure his illness, the sick Sultan was seated on a sixteen-sided stand to await with shrouded head and grass brush in hand the advent of the spirits of the realm. There was the same kind of preoccupation with these astrological numbers in Siam and Cambodia. Generally at his enthronement a king in those countries is surrounded by eight Brahmins representing the Lokapālas who guard the eight points in the Brahmin cosmogony. Pegu in the fourteenth century had thirty-two provinces, whose governors with the King made up the number of the gods in Indra's mountain paradise. "A passage in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty," Dr. Heine-Geldern tells us, "indicates that the kingdom of Java in the ninth century was divided into twenty-eight provinces, their governors together with the four ministers again having numbered thirty-two high officials. This may have been a somewhat older form of the same system, in which the provinces corresponded to constellations, the twenty-eight Houses of the Moon, and the four ministers to the guardian gods of the cardinal points. It is clear that in all these cases the empire was conceived as an image of the heavenly world of stars and gods." On the fifth day of the Cambodian enthronement ceremonies princes and dignitaries forming a circle about the King pass round nineteen times from left to right seven disks set on tapers, whose smoke they fan towards him. This ritual symbolizes the revolution of the seven planets about Mt. Meru, here represented by the king.

Accounts of the enthronement ceremony are wanted from Pahang, Selangor, Trengganu, and especially Kedah and Kelantan.

[References: *Sejarah Melayu*, ed. R. O. Winstedt, *JRAS. Malayan Branch*, 1938; "History of Negri Sembilan," R. O. Winstedt, *ibid.*, 1934; "History of Perak," R. O. Winstedt, *ibid.*, 1934; "History of Malaya," *ibid.*, 1935; "The Installation of Tunku Abdul-Rahman as Yang di-pertuan Besar, Negri Sembilan," J. J. Sheehan, *ibid.*, 1936; "The Installation of Tengku Kurshiah as Tengku Ampuan," J. J. Sheehan, *ibid.*; "Some Malay Studies," R. J. Wilkinson, *ibid.*, 1932; *Misa Melayu*, ed. R. O. Winstedt, Singapore, 1919; *Shaman Saiva and Sufl*, R. O. Winstedt, London; "Sri Menanti," R. J. Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects*, ii, series 2, pp. 18, 19, 30, 34-44, 47; 'Adat Radja-Radja Melajoe, Ph. v. Ronkel, Leiden, 1929; "Conceptions of State and Kingship in South-East Asia," R. Heine-Geldern, *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Columbia, November, 1942; *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, Batavia, 1930; *Keris and other Malay Weapons*, G. B. Gardner, Singapore, 1936, p. 77, pl. 50, figs. 3, 4; *Siamese State Ceremonies*, H. G. Quaritch Wales; *Kingship*, A. M. Hocart; *Malay Magic*, W. W. Skeat; *The Analects of Confucius*, A. Waley, 1938, p. 236; *Pictorial History of Civilization in Java*, W. F. Stutterheim, Weltevreden, Java, figs. 54, 102, 125; *Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia*, B. A. Chatterji, 1928, pp. 4, 5; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1927, vol. iii, pp. 315-355, *The Evolution of the State*, Dr. Balakrishna; *Cambodge, Fêtes Civiles et Religieuses*, A. Leclère, Paris, 1916; *The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies*, D. C. Holtom, Tokyo, 1928.]

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## The Manichæan Fasts

By W. B. HENNING

(PLATE XIV)

IN an excursus to his article on "The Early Sasanians" in *BSOAS.*, xi, 42 sqq., S. H. Taqizadeh has given a full and illuminating discussion of the Manichæan two-day fasts which preceded the feast of the *Bema*. All hitherto known about these fasts is contained in a passage in the *K. al-Fihrist*, 333, 28-334, 1, which runs as follows:—

As regards the fasting—

- (1) when the sun is in Sagittarius and the moon is full, they fast two days without break,
- (2) then when the New Light appears, they fast two days without break,
- (3) after this, they fast two days when the moon is full (and the sun is) in Capricornus,
- (4) then when the New Light appears and the sun is in Aquarius and eight days have passed of the (lunar) month, they fast for thirty days, but break the fast each day at nightfall.

It seems to me that this information can be supplemented and (in part) corrected with the help of Sogdian Manichæan calendar tables published here for the first time. They had been referred to before by F. W. K. Müller (in *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1907, 465) and by myself (in *Orientalia*, viii, 1939, 87-95) for the purpose of establishing the correct forms of the names of the Sogdian days and months.

The Sogdian calendar lists, after giving details for each year (eras, "basic numbers" of sun and moon, first weekdays), contain lists of the New Moons<sup>1</sup> (fixed by the Sogdian month and day, the weekday, the hour of day or night, and sometimes the *ratus*<sup>2</sup> of the hour) and, at the end, lists of *five* groups of two days. Although this second list is not fully preserved in any of our manuscripts, there can be little doubt that it constitutes a register of the Manichæan two-day fasts.

This is shown by the intervals between the various groups of two days. Disregarding the fifth group of two days we find that

<sup>1</sup> Thus (rather than New Light) according to S. H. Taqizadeh. The Sogdian word ("New God") could refer to either.

<sup>2</sup> *ratu* = 10 seconds.



the intervals are (a) 16, (b) 14, (c) 23 days in MS. No. 1, and (a) 16, (b) 13, (c) 24 days in MS. No. 2. They correspond precisely with the intervals between the fasts as given in the *K. al-Fihrist*, viz. (a) between full moon and new light, (b) between new light and full moon, (c) between full moon and new light plus eight days. Since the lists of the groups of two days are accompanied by lists of the new moons (or new lights) for the whole year, it is easy to see that the first two-day group coincided with a full moon, the second with a new light (or new moon), etc.

However, the calendar lists have a *fifth* fast which fell twenty-six days after the fourth (and last) fast of the *K. al-Fihrist*, and therefore within the Manichæan fast-month. It seems to me that this interval represents the twenty-six days of Mani's suffering in prison before his death (*Homilies*, 60, 11; *Psalm-book*, 16, 25; 43, 30). The fifth fast thus commemorates Mani's death; it fell on the 27th and 28th days of the fast-month. On the third day after it (*Psalm-book*, 41, 18, cf. Taqizadeh, loc. cit., 49 sq.), hence on the 30th day of the fast-month, the feast of the *Bema* was celebrated.

It is apparent that Ibn an-Nadīm has omitted to mention that within the fast-month there were two two-day fasts (respectively on the 1st and 2nd, and the 27th and 28th days of the fast-month) on which the fasting was uninterrupted. On the remaining days of the fast-month the *Auditores* had to observe the rule obligatory for the *Electi* during the whole of their lives, viz. they were allowed only one meal, at nightfall.

A further point the Sogdian calendar lists may help to settle concerns the *yiti yimki* "Seven Yimki" of the Turkish Khwastwanift. It seems that the *seven* Yimki were identical with the *five* two-day fasts, or, at least, were distributed over the five fasts in some way we can hardly hope to determine with accuracy. In one of the unfortunately badly preserved Sogdian manuscripts, No. 2, *yymky* seems to occur as the name of one of the fasts (but the reading is uncertain). In another MS., No. 5, the "Mār Sisin Yimki" is referred to, and it is stated that it took place on *two days* and coincided with a *new light*. One is thus led to assume that "Mār Sisin Yimki" was the name of the second fast (the only one to coincide with a new light).

The word *yimki* may mean "prayer", especially "prayer of intercession" (see *BBB.*, p. 139b, and below, text No. 7). The fasts may have been held in commemoration of martyrs on whose

behalf prayers of intercession were delivered. The first fast was devoted to the memory of the *Primus Homo* (the greatest martyr of world history, from the Manichæan point of view), see text No. 4; the second to Mār Sīsin, Mani's martyred successor; the fifth and last, representing the anniversary of Mani's death, surely to Mani. Of the remaining two fasts, the third or fourth probably commemorated the martyrdom of the three presbyters who followed Mār Sīsin into death (*Homilies*, 83, 7 sq.; *üč maxistak olurmaq*, *Thomsen-Festschrift*, 147, see *ZDMG.*, 90, 15, n. 1): this may have counted as *three yimkis* (the excess of the *seven yimkis* over the *five* fasts could thus be accounted for).

According to the *K. al-Fihrist* the fasts were fixed by the phases of the moon and the position of the sun in the ecliptic. However, it is far more likely that the early Manichæans determined the dates solely by reference to the Babylonian calendar. Only the Persian Manichæans, being not well acquainted with the Babylonian calendar, may have introduced Luni-solar definitions. Originally, therefore, the first day of the fourth fast, coinciding with the first day of the fast-month and commemorating Mani's imprisonment, was fixed on the 8th day of Šabāt (translated as "8th Emschir", *Homilies*, 60, 11). The fifth fast, on the 27th and 28th of the fast-month (= Mani's death), fell always on the 4th (and 5th) of Ādār, while the feast of the Bema took place on the 7th of Ādār (the 30th day of the fast-month).

His Excellency S. H. Taqizadeh to whom I submitted this article before publication, very kindly consented to contribute a number of notes on the chronological problems to which these <sup>1</sup> fragments give rise; they will be found at the end of this article.

#### No. 1

M 148. Two small pieces forming one page which is damaged at the bottom and at the outside margins. No whole lines are missing. Distribution of *recto* and *verso* is certain by the appearance of the interior margin. Above the names of the months there are numerals written with coloured ink (to indicate, according to

<sup>1</sup> Similar tables existed also in Uyyur Turkish. Two fragments were published by G. R. Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, vii, Nos. 8 and 9 (see also my notes *apud* Rachmati, p. 61). The dates are fixed by reference to the Sogdian and the Chinese calendars: this makes the tables somewhat confused. They cannot be understood without the help of the Sogdian MSS.

S. H. Taqizadeh, the first weekdays of the months); in the transliteration they are given *after* the names of the months.<sup>1</sup>

*Recto*

- (1) 'wd iii pnjwg oo nwgrwc iii šmbyd oo xwmn'h [
- (2) n'wsrδyc iii byynwy o "bw x rweyy o pncšmbyd myδy[h o
- (3) xwrjnye v byynwy o "bw x rweyy o šmbyd 'xšpy'h o .[
- (4) nysnyc vii byynwy o "š rwc[y o 'yw]šmbyd myδy[h .[
- (5) [ps'kyc ii b]y[ynwy o "š rweyy o iii]š[mbyd 'x]šp[y'h o
- (6) (š)[n'](xnt)yc [iv] byynwy [o δš]eyy r[wecy o i]iii [šm]byd  
m[yδy[h
- (7) γz'n'nc vi byynwy o δšeyy rwc[y o "δy[n'h 'xšpy'[h o
- (8) bγk'nc i byynwy o mrt't rweyy o šmbyd myδy[h pnc[myk  
'jmny'h o ]
- (9) "b'nc iii byynwy o mrt't rweyy o ii šmbyd 'xšpy'[h o
- (10) bwγyc v byynwy o 'rt't rweyy o iii šmbyd myδy[h o [
- (11) myšbwγyc vii byy[nwyo '](rt)]['t rwc[y o p]ncšmby[d 'xšpy'h
- (12) jymtyc ii by[ynwy o spnd'rmt rweyy o "δyn'h myδy[h o
- (13) ('xšwmy(c) [iv byynwy o spnd'rmt rweyy o 'ywšmbyd 'xšpy'h o

*Verso*

- (14) ]. rweyy o ii šmbyd myδy[h o vi-myk 'jmny'h
- (15) (*col. ink*) [h srδy[h
- (16) [xyh o frwrt'ty[h wšy[n'h rweyy o iišmbyd iiišmbyd
- (17) [h o spnd'rmd '[tyh 'rt']t rweyy o iii 'ty pncšmbyd
- (18) [(frwrt) '[tyh w](šy)[n'h rweyy o iii 'ty pncšmbyd]
- (19) [h o m'x ['ty]h [tyš rw]cy[y o "δ]yn'h 'ty šm[by](d)
- (20) [h o δyšeyy 'ty[h "šrw]eyy o iii šmbyd pncšmbyd
- (21) ] (*blank*) ccccxiii<sup>2</sup>
- (22) ] 'wd viiii 'y yzdgryd o ccclxxx 'wd viii
- (23) [(y)d<sup>3</sup> tswg o 'wd h'n 'yg m'h xx 'wd
- (24) [(mb)yδ<sup>4</sup> oo xw[mn'](h) . . .<sup>5</sup> š(y)r(w)(e) [ ]<sup>6</sup>
- (25) cc]lxxxviii rtw
- (26) cclxxx]viii r(tw)

*Translation*

- (1) and three-fifths.<sup>7</sup> Nōgrōc on Tuesday, Xumna<sup>8</sup> [

<sup>1</sup> Handwriting of the later Manichæan type.—[restored], (doubtful) or (damaged) letters, see *BSOAS.*, xi, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Written in another hand. <sup>3</sup> Restore: [x + bwmmrg 'yg xwrax]yd?

<sup>4</sup> Restore: [x pnjwg o nwgrwc iii š]mbyd? <sup>5</sup> Possibly (rwc).

<sup>6</sup> Read and restore: (m)š(y)r(w)c [pncšmbyd]?

<sup>7</sup> End of the "bummarag" (basic number?) of the moon.

<sup>8</sup> Name of the second day of each Sogdian month.

	The "New God" of	(first	on			
	Sogd. month	wkday.)	Sogd. day	wkday.	daytime	hour
(2)	i	Tu.	10	Th.	day	
(3)	ii	Th.	10	Sat.	night	
(4)	iii	Sat.	9	Sun.	day	
(5)	iv	Mon.	9	Tu.	night	
(6)	v	Wed.	8	Wed.	day	
(7)	vi	Fr.	8	Fr.	night	
(8)	vii	Sun.	7	Sat.	day	5th
(9)	viii	Tu.	7	Mon.	night	
(10)	ix	Th.	6	Tu.	day	
(11)	x	Sat.	6	Th.	night	
(12)	xi	Mon.	5	Fr.	day	
(13)	xii	Wed.	5	Sun.	night	
(14)	[Epagomenae]	—	[4]	Mon.	day	6th
(15)	[The <i>yimki</i> fasts are in this] year					
	No.	Sogd. month	Sogd. days	= weekdays		
(16)	[1]	[9] <sup>1</sup>	19 and 20	Mon. and Tu.		
(17)	[2]	[10]	5 and 6	Wed. and Th.		
(18)	[3]	[10]	19 and 20	[Wed. and Th.]		
(19)	[4]	[11]	12 and [13]	Fr. and Sat.		
(20)	[5]	[12]	8 and [9]	Wed. and Th.		
(21)	]		413 <sup>2</sup>			
(22)	] and nine of Yezdegerd, 388 <sup>3</sup>					
(23)	] a quarter. <sup>4</sup> And that <sup>5</sup> of the moon twenty and					
(24)	] ... <sup>6</sup> . Xumna-roč (and) Miši-roč [are Thursdays ?] <sup>7</sup>					
(25)				] [2]88 ratus <sup>8</sup>		
(26)				] [2]88 ratus		

<sup>1</sup> The months (whose names are not preserved in the MS.) are found by calculation.

<sup>2</sup> Here begins the preamble to the description of the year which followed the year dealt with in lines 1-20. The purport of the number 413 which was written by a different scribe is not clear. It may refer to an era (era of Šād-Örmizd?).

<sup>3</sup> I thought at first that this number represented the *bunmarag* of the sun, but it could hardly precede the words *bunmrg 'yg xwrzšyd* for which space is available only at the beginning of line 23. One thus has to assume that 388 is the year of an era whose name unfortunately is lost.

<sup>4</sup> Restore: [name of an era + the basic number of the sun is].

<sup>5</sup> = *bunmarag*.

<sup>6</sup> Restore: [several fifths. *Nögröč* on Wednesday].

<sup>7</sup> Restoration doubtful. *Miši-röč* (reading very uncertain), the sixteenth day, would be the same weekday as *Xumna-röč*. The purpose of giving the weekdays of the second and sixteenth days of the year is not clear. It should have sufficed to give the weekday of the first day (*Nögröč*). But those days may have been feastdays.

<sup>8</sup> Here began the list of the "New Gods" for the year described in lines 21-4. The possible numbers of *ratus* are 00, 72, 144, 216, and 288; hence 88 should be restored to 288. The whole line could be restored as follows: [*n'wsrdyc iv bygnmoy o mnsnd rucyy o iv šmbyd 'xšpy'h o vmyk 'jmy'h cc*] *lxzxviii rtw* = [The "New God" of month *Nausarđič*, the first day of which is a Wednesday, on the day of *Manspand* = 29th day, a Wednesday, in the sixth hour of the night,] after 288 *ratus* (on the 28th, 11.48 p.m.). From this the number of *ratus* could easily be





A TABLE OF THE MANICHÆAN FASTS  
T ii D 66 (a), *Recto* page.

[ $\frac{1}{3}$  nat. size]



## No. 2

T ii D 66 (a). Badly damaged book-leaf. Little can be read on the *recto* page. Handwriting of the later Manichæan type. Distribution of *recto* and *verso* is certain by the appearance of the interior margin. No whole lines are missing.

*Recto* (Plate XIV)

- (1) ] (*weak traces*)  
 (2) ] jmny['] .....'  
 (3) (*left blank*)  
 (4) ]y oo                   ooo                   oo  
 (5) ''p['n](ž) [m'xyy oo](z)[mw](x)[tw](γ) ['tyy mn](s)[p](n)d  
      (r)[w](cyy) [oo iv](pnž)[šmb]δyy  
 (6) βwyc m']xyy [oo] γwš '[tyy] δy(š)[cy rweyy oo ''δyng 'tyy  
      šm](bδ)[yy]  
 (7) ](y) oo [βwyc m']xyy oo (sm'n) 'tyy (zm)wx(tw)γ r[wweyy oo  
      ''δyng] 'tyy (š)[mbδyy]  
 (8) [*about* 8 + ]yy(mk)[yy oo myš]βwyc [m'x](yy) oo (r'm) ('tyy)  
      [w']t r[we](yy) [oo] i 'tyy ii šmb[δyy]  
 (9) [*about* 6 + yym](ky)y oo jymtyc m'x[yy oo] srwš 'tyy [ršn  
      rweyy oo ]'δyng 'tyy šmbδyy  
 (10-12) (*left blank*)

*Verso*

- (13) γ'w srδ '.....[ *about* 15 + yz]dygy[rδ  
 (14) bwnmrg 'y m'h '.....pn]]w]g'n oo n[wgrwc ''δyng  
 (15) n'wsrδyc βγnwyy oo ''š δy]šc[yy rweyy] oo ('')[δyn]g xš[p' oo  
 (16) xwrjnye βγnwyy oo (mrt't) rweyy oo š[mbδ] m[yδyy oo  
      '](št)myk [jmny' oo  
 (17) nys[nyc] (βγ)[nwyy] oo (mrt)['t rweyy]oo ii šmbδ xšp' o]o  
      ('štm)[yk jmny' oo  
 (18) [p]s(')[kyc βγnwyy oo 'rt]'t rweyy oo iii š[mb]δ myδyy oo  
      'št[myk jmny' oo  
 (19) [šn'xnty] βγnwyy oo 'r(t)]['t]rweyy oo pnž šmbδ xšp' oo  
      'š[tm]yk jmny'  
 (20) (x)[z'n]'nc βγ[nwyy] oo sp[nd]'rmt rweyy oo ''δ[yn]g myδyy oo  
      'š[tm]yk [j]mny[' oo  
 (21) βγk'nc βγnwyy oo [spnd'rm](t) [rw]cyy oo i šmbδ xšp' oo  
      ix-myk j[mny'

restored in the table on the *recto* page, e.g. in line 8 it should be "fifth hour 72 *ratus* (passed)". A slight difficulty is provided by the absence of a number of *ratus* at the end of line 14. One would expect: 144 *ratus*. There are two possibilities: either the number was put at the beginning of line 15 (contrary to the scribe's normal procedure), or the year dealt with in lines 21 sqq. is not the year which followed the year described in lines 1-20.

- (22) "p'nc βγnwyy oo xš(yw)[r rw](c)[yy] oo ii šmb[δ my]δyy oo  
ix-myk jmn(y')[ oo  
(23) βwyc βγnwyy oo xšywr rwcy y oo iv[šmb](δ) xšp' oo ix-myk  
jmn(y') [oo] (ii)[xxxxx]xx(xx)viii[i r](tw xr)[tyh]  
(24) myšβwyc βγnwyy oo 'rt'wxwšt rwcy y oo pnžšmbδ my[δyy] oo  
ix-myk (j)[mny' oo i]i(c)[xxxxxxxxxviii rtw xr](ty)h

## Translation

(1-2) (end of a list of the "New Gods").

(4) [The *yimki* fasts in this year]

	No.	Sogd. month	Sogd. days	= weekdays
(5)	[1]	8	28 and 29	[Wed.] and Th.
(6)	[2]	[9]	14 and 15	[Fr. and Sat.]
(7)	[3]	[9]	27 and 28	[Fr. and Sat.] <sup>1</sup>
(8)	4	10	21 and 22	Sun. and Mon.
(9)	5	11	17 and [18]	Fr. and Sat.

(10-12) (Left blank)

(13) Cow year<sup>2</sup> . . . . . of Yezdegerd . . . .

(14) The basic number of the moon is . . . . fifths, Nōgrōč is [Friday . . .

	The "New God" of Sogd. month	on Sogd day = wkday.	daytime	hour	ratus <sup>3</sup>
(15)	i	8	[Fr.]	night	[8th] [72]
(16)	ii	7	Sat.	day	8th [72]
(17)	iii	7	Mon.	night	8th [216]
(18)	iv	6	Tu.	day	8th [216]
(19)	[v]	6	Th.	night	[8] [o'clock]
(20)	vi	5	Fr.	day	8 [o'clock]
(21)	vii	[5]	Sun.	night	9th [144]
(22)	viii	4	Mon.	day	9th [144]
(23)	ix	4	Wed.	night	9th 288
(24)	x	3	Th.	day	9th 2[88]

## No. 3

M 147. Nearly completely preserved book-leaf. Handwriting of the late Manichæan type. Text not written in form of a table.

<sup>1</sup> No other restoration seems to fit the existing traces. I am assuming that the author of these tables made a slight mistake in calculating. He ought to have written: "Thursday and Friday."

<sup>2</sup> Here begins the treatment of the year which followed immediately upon the year dealt with in lines 1-9. This is confirmed by the dates given for the lunar phases. For example, in the first year the New Light fell on the 14th or 15th of the 9th month (line 6), while in the second year it fell on the 4th of the ninth month (line 23). This is the correct interval for successive years.

<sup>3</sup> The number of *ratus* is preserved only for the 9th and 10th months, but can be found by calculation for the other months. See above, p. 150, n. 8. The lunations are 29 d. 12 h. 144 *ratus* (= 24 min.) and 29 d. 12 h. in strict alternation. "9th hour 288 *ratus* passed" means 8.48. "Wednesday night" is the night before Wednesday. Hence "Wednesday night 9th hour 288 *ratus* passed" means: Wednesday, 2.48 a.m. Note that "eighth hour" (without *ratus*) means the full hour = 8 o'clock.

*Recto* (1) βγγγ nwyw xwr rweyyh i (2) šmbδyy pr myδδ 'tyh (3) ('ftmcyk jmn'y' cc (4) lxxxviii rtww xrtyh (5) oo oo šn'xntyc m'x (6) nwyw xwr rweyy iii šmbδyy (7) 'xšpy' δβtyk jmn'y'h (8) lxxii rtww xrtyh oo oo (9) xz'n'nc βγγγ nwyw "pwx (10) rweyy iv šmbδyy pr my[δδ] (11) δβtyk jmn'y' lxxii (12) rtww xrtyh oo oo (13) βγk'nc m'x nwyw "pwx (14) rweyy "dyn' 'xšpy'h (15) [δ](βt)[yk] (j)mny' cex[vi] (16) [rtww xrtyh] (h) oo oo (17) ["p'n](c) m'x nwyw "š (18) [rweyy] (š)mbδyy pr myδδ (19) ['t](y)h δβtyq jmn'y'h (*Verso*) (20) cexvi rtww xrtyh (21) oo βwγyc (22) m'x nwyw "š rweyh (23) ii šmbδyy 'xšpy'h (24) 'tyh δβtyk jmn'y'h (25) oo oo myšβwyc (26) m'x nwyw "š δšcyh (27) (r)weyy iii šmbδyh (28) [p](r) myδδ δβtyk jmn'y' (29) oo oo jymtyc (30) βγγγ nwyw "š δšcyh (31) rweyy pncšmbδyh (32) 'xšpy' o štyk jmn'y'h (33) cxxxxiii rtww xrtyh (34) oo oo xšw[myc] (35) βγγnwyy mrt'[t rweyy] (36) "dyn' pr myδδ [štyk] (37) jmn'y' cxxxxii[iu rtww] (38) xrtyh oo oo

## Translation

The "New God" <sup>1</sup> of	is on				<i>ratus</i>
Sogd. month	Sogd. day = wkday.	daytime	hour	passed	
[iv]	11 Sun.	day	1st	288	
v	11 Tu.	night	2nd	72	
vi	10 Wed.	day	2nd	72	
vii	10 Fr.	night	2nd	216	
viii	9 Sat.	day	2nd	216	
ix	9 Mon.	night	2	o'clock	
x	8 Tu.	day	2	o'clock	
xi	8 Th.	night	3rd	144	
xii	7 Fr. <sup>2</sup>	day	3rd	144	

## No. 4

M 796. Heavily damaged double book-leaf. The lower half of the leaf published here is missing. The other leaf (not given here) contains the fragment of an astronomical treatise (on lunar and solar years). Handwriting of the older Manichæan type. Text not written in form of a table.

*Recto* (1) [iii] šmbδyy pr m[yδδ] (2) [oo] oo "p'ncm[']xyy (3) [βγγγ] nwyw xwmn' rwc (4) [pnc] šmbδyy xšp'<sup>sic</sup> (5) oo oo βwyc m'xy (6) βγγγ nwyw x(wr)[m](z)[t] rw(c) (7) "dyng pr m[yδδ oo oo] (8) myš(β)[wyc m'xyy] (*six lines missing*)

*Verso* (9) [βγγγ] nwyw mnspnd (r)[wc] (10) (p)[n]c šmbδyy pr

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript has βγγγ nwyw "New God" four times, and m'x nwyw "New Moon" five times.

<sup>2</sup> "dyn", "dyn'h, also spelt (historically) "dyng, is borrowed from Persian (or late Middle Persian) as are the other names of the weekdays. Cf. Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Man.*, 198 [174] sqq., *BBB.*, 85 sq. The use by Manichæans of a form corresponding with Persian *ādine* does not favour the view that *ādine* was a purely Muslimic term. More likely it was pre-Muslimic.

[myδδ] (11) oo oo xyδ γ'w (s)[rδyy] (12) xwrmzt' βγ[yy ymkyy ?]  
 (13) βwγc m'xyy (γ)[w](š) 'ty (14) δšc[yy rw]c pnc šmbδy (15) [ 'ty  
 "]δyng oo oo (16) [mrysyzn ? ym](kyy) myš

Translation <sup>1</sup>

The "New God" of Sogd. month	is on Sogd. day = wkday.		daytime
[vii]	[2]	Tu.	day
viii	2	Th.	night
ix	1	Fr.	day
x	[1]	[Sun.]	[night]
[second in x]	[30]	[Mon.]	[day]
[xi]	[30]	[Wed.]	[night]
[xii]	29	Th.	day

In this Cow year the [Yimki] of God Khurmazda is in the month of βōγē on the days of γōš and δišči (= 14. and 15.9.), respectively a Thursday and a Friday. [The Yimki of Mar Sisin is in the month of] Miš[βōγē, . . . <sup>2</sup>

## No. 5

M 197. Fragment of a double-leaf. Older Manichæan handwriting. One folio (not given here) contains Middle Persian hymns of no interest. The other folio contains a liturgical text. Of the *recto* page only inconsiderable traces remain; several beginnings of Persian and Parthian hymns are cited (cf. the texts *c* and *d* published in *BBB.*, 45 sqq.); it is not worth while to print them. Only the text of the *verso* page is given here.

(1) lyy pty'm(s)[t̄ o] (2) c'(nw) βγγy nwyγ šq(r)[tyy ?] (3) wβ't̄ o  
 pr myhr m'x jm[nw] (4) mrysyzn ymqyy βwt̄ o (5) 'ty fr'kcyyny  
 c'nw n'f (6) ['](n)wznd o 'ftmys<sup>ic</sup> n'(fs)'r (7) ršt(')[w](c)'ry[y  
 '](t)[y . . .]'ny<sup>3</sup> (8) 'qt(yy) γwt̄ o 'tym[s] δynyy (9) mzyx  
 [b]wt̄yšt(y)[y '](t)[y]h (10) [p]š'[bwtytyy (11) p . . [ (12) ]srδnng

## Translation

. . . . is finished. When the "New God" is accomplished (??), on Sunday and Monday, the Mār Sisin Yimki takes place. In the morning when the people assemble, it is necessary to comfort and . . . the people in the beginning. Also, the great Buddhas (= apostles) of the Church, and the "after-Buddhas" . . . . the chief. . . .

<sup>1</sup> With restorations (in square brackets) for the missing portion of the table.

<sup>2</sup> The text presumably continued: "on the first and second days, a Sunday and a Monday." The interval between Full Moon and New Light is seventeen days here (sixteen in Nos. 1 and 2). Actually, the "New God" took place in the night following the 30th day of the 9th month.

<sup>3</sup> Restore: [nm]'ny?

## No. 6

Caption in a collection of Parthian stories (M 44): j'yd'nyy m'hjmnwy' prβyrc[ = "to be told on Ĵaidan<sup>1</sup> Monday".

## No. 7

Two sentences from the Sogdian edition of the Manichæan Missionary History. A = TM 389a R 23 sqq., B = TM 389c 26 sqq. Sogdian writing. (A) rtpts'r ZK kβryγβ rm γypδty m(r)[ 'zty pr] xiv sytyh pr ymkw ZY pr "βrywnh [ 'wšt't] rty pnt βy'r'k c'nkW ZY ZK 'yšw stty rt[y ZK] kβryγβ pt'yey 'yšw pr "βrywnh 'wšt'[t] rtšw w'nkW pt'yškwy "Thereupon, on the fourteenth,<sup>2</sup> Gabriab and his assistants stood in supplication and prayer. And near nightfall when Jesus (= moon) rose, Gabriab stood before Jesus in prayer and spoke thus to him . . .".

(B) rty ywnyδ ZK mr'tt' pr ymkw ZY "βrywnh 'wšt't rty kw βr'yšt'kw s'r pt'yškwy w'nkW ZY cymyδ wnyrš "z'nt βyr'n "And without delay Mār Adda stood in supplication and prayer, and spoke to the Apostle: how can I find the spell that will save me from this? . . .".

In both these passages *ymkw* (here translated as "supplication") is apparently the accusative of *ymkyy* (= nominative and genitive-dative). Cf. also *y<sup>2</sup>mk<sup>2</sup>* in Turkish runes (quoted *BBB.*, p. 139), and the *ymg'nyg rwc'n* "days of Yimki-prayers" in the fragment *S*<sup>3</sup> (cf. *BSOS.*, viii, p. 588).

## NOTES BY S. H. TAQIZADEH

Dr. Henning asked me to add some notes to his very interesting article about Sogdian fragments on the calendar, which, as it appears, are related to the Manichæan system. I readily agreed to comply

<sup>1</sup> Presumably = Uyγur "čaidan" in the Khwastwanift, according to a suggestion made by me in *BBB.*, p. 9 = *Bema*. The Bema Monday was probably the Monday which was closest to the day of the Bema, preferably the Monday preceding Bema (Mani died on a Monday).

<sup>2</sup> Viz. of a Babylonian month, when the moon was full.

<sup>3</sup> Its table of contents may help in establishing the beneficiaries of the Yimki-prayers. After the Manichæan gospels we find mentioned texts relating to (1) Ohrmizd, (2) Mār Sisin, (3) Jesus, (4) the community of the *Electi*. For the first two this agrees with the order of the fasts as established in this article. It is indeed likely that Jesus was included in the number of the great martyrs. If we assume that the "community of the *Electi*" has replaced the "Three Presbyters", we would gain the following order of the Yimki fasts: (1) *Primus Homo*, (2) Mār Sisin, (3) Jesus, (4) Three Presbyters, (5) Mani (together seven Yimkis and five fasts).

with his wishes, although my contribution could hardly go beyond conjecture, especially in relation to the possible and sometimes probable dates of the different fragments. Apart from the question of the dates there are a few further points on which also I venture to advance an opinion, that is again only a conjecture.

I propose to take the fragments in the numerical order given to them by Dr. Henning and deal with each of them accordingly.

### *The Dates*

(1) Fragment No. 1, of which the translation is given above on p. 150, can belong either to the Sogdian year beginning in A.D. 837 (206 of the era of Yazdegerd) or more probably to A.D. 984 (A.Y. 353). It would take us far afield to give here in detail the reasons for this conjecture. I can only say that the particulars given in the fragment, namely the weekday of New Year's Day, the position of the new moon in each of the Sogdian months and the position of the supposed *Yimki* fasts which ought to correspond to the middle (full moon) of the Babylonian month Kānūn I (or the middle of the eleventh Turco-Chinese month as we will see), the first day (New Light) of Kānūn II (or the new moon of the twelfth Chinese month), the middle (full moon) of the same Babylonian month (or the middle of the same twelfth Chinese month), the 8th day of the Babylonian Shabat (or in the intercalary years with two Adārs the 8th Adār I) and the 4th Adār (or in the intercalary years with two Adārs the 4th of Adār II) = 9th or 10th of the first and the 5th or 6th of the second of the Chinese months respectively, cannot fit in any year of the first four centuries of the Yazdegerdian era except in the two above-mentioned years (984 and 837). The same reason applies with more or less certainty to the dates proposed for the other fragments here below.

(2) The passage at the end of the same paragraph discussed above (1) is difficult to explain. It can hardly relate to the following year, which must be assumed if the passage was a continuation of the foregoing table, because the following year, according to our conjecture, must have been either 207 or 354 A.Y.; but neither of them is a number ending with 9. I am also unable to suggest any explanation as to either of the two numbers (413 and 388). Dr. Henning's conjecture with regard to the first number (413)—that it may refer to the era beginning with the year in which Shād Ōrmizd, the great Manichæan leader, died—though ingenious,



does not accord easily with the data obtained from "Mahnāmāg" where the 162nd year from the death of this prominent Manichæan leader is made to correspond with the 546th year of the birth of Mānī. This implies that the year of Shād Ōrmīzd's death began in A.D. 600, should Mānī's birth have occurred in A.D. 216, or in 601 if the founder of the religion was born in the early part of A.D. 217. Therefore the year A.D. 985 would be the 384th or 385th of the death of Shād Ōrmīzd. This last date is of course nearer to the second number in the fragment, i.e. 388. A mistake of three years in the calculation of the later composers of the tables for older times would not be surprising. We find similar mistakes in the Uygur Manichæan Calendar fragment (Rahmati No. 9) where the Yazdegerdi date 358 is given as a mouse year, which in fact must be 357, as the year A.Y. 358 was certainly a cow year.

(3) The first part of Fragment No. 2, if it is a list of the Manichæan *Yimki* fasts, might fit in the Sogdian year beginning in A.D. 878 provided that the second part which follows it does not necessarily relate to the year immediately succeeding it, for the year 879 does not correspond to the cow year. But if the two years were consecutive, the only other possible conjecture would be to suppose that this first part (with *Yimki* table) relates to the Sogdian year beginning in the year A.D. 1000 (A.Y. 369). The latter year accords in all particulars, as (a) the year fits with the mouse year, while the succeeding year was a cow year, which began on the 23rd January, 1001 (A.Y. 370); but the fasts would then curiously fall one full month behind their usual position in the Babylonian months (this point will be discussed further below); (b) the position of the new moon in the Sogdian months in the following Sogdian year which began in A.D. 1001 conforms with those given in the table that follows the *Yimkis* (those of the cow year); (c) the New Year's Day of this latter Sogdian year was a Friday.

(4) Fragment No. 3 relates most probably to the Sogdian year corresponding to A.D. 931-2 (A.Y. 300). The reason for this judgment is similar to that explained in No. (1), though in the present case the equation of the new moon days and the weekdays is not a sufficient reason for the date suggested being necessarily exclusive.

(5) Fragment No. 4 relates almost certainly to the Sogdian year beginning in A.D. 929 (A.Y. 298), which also corresponded to a cow year of the duodenary animal cycle of the Chinese system, except for its last three months which fell in a tiger year. The

[*Yimki* of Ormizd] (the first fast) here corresponds nearly to the 14th of the Babylonian Kānūn I, or, more exactly, to the 14th day of the eleventh Chinese month.

(6) Fragment No. 5 can relate to the same year as Fragment No. 4 if the Mār Sisin *Yimki* was really the second of the two-day fasts, which always corresponded to the New Light of the Babylonian Kānūn II or to the new moon of the twelfth Chinese month. This latter day was, in A.D. 930, a Sunday falling on the first day of the tenth Sogdian month (3rd January, A.D. 930).

If the suggested dates are correct all the tables in the fragments will be found to relate to a space of time equal to six Turkish duodenary cycles, i.e. seventy-two years (A.D. 929–1001).

### *Miscellaneous*

Now here are a few supplementary notes relating to the different points involved in the question of the Manichæan fasts:—

(a) The dates of the “New God”, or the beginning of the lunar month in the tables of Fragments Nos. 3 and 4 (according to the numerical order of Dr. Henning’s article), correspond to the new moon rather than to the New Light, that is to say they do not correspond strictly to the first day of the Babylonian months, but they correspond exactly with the first day of the Chinese and Turkish months. The same is true of the dates of the *Yimkis* in different fragments, i.e. they do not correspond with the 14th and 15th day of the Babylonian Kānūn I, the first day of Kānūn II, the 14th or 15th day of the same month, the 8th of Shabat, and the 4th of Adār, as expected, but they are as a rule one or two days in advance (earlier), and hence they correspond exactly with the middle and the beginning, and again the middle and the 8th and the 4th day of the eleventh, twelfth, first, and second of the Chinese months respectively.

(b) The two consecutive dates suggested for the tables in Fragment No. 2 (the *Yimki* table and the new moon table) are, of all the years from the first down to the 370th year A.Y. (A.D. 632–1000) the only two consecutive years conforming to those conditions given in the tables, namely the places of the fasts in the year, the position of the new moon in the Sogdian months and the second year in the animal cycle (cow year).

(c) An interesting point is that the dates of the *Yimkis* (or Manichæan fasts) in different *Yimki* tables are not consistent, for

while the position of *Yimkis* in Fragments Nos. 1 and 4 (assuming that the dates suggested are correct) correspond quite nearly to the Babylonian dates of the fasts (i.e. the full moon or the 14th and 15th of Kānūn I, the 1st and 2nd of Kānūn II, the middle of the same month or full moon, the 8th and 9th of Shabat and the 3rd and 4th of Adār ; or rather more exactly to the 14th and 15th of the eleventh, to the 1st and 2nd of the twelfth, to the 14th and 15th of the same, to the 8th and 9th of the first and to the 3rd and 4th of the second Chinese months), the dates of the *Yimkis* in Fragment No. 2 differ widely from these positions and are a whole month behind. They are in the middle of the tenth, the beginning and the middle of the eleventh, the 8th day of the twelfth and the 4th day of the first Chinese month. This peculiarity cannot be explained by supposing an earlier date for the table, e.g. some year in the second part of the ninth century (perhaps somewhere around A.D. 865), because although the position of the *Yimkis* alone might fit with such a date, the other particulars of the whole of this fragment, considered together, do not fit with any year except A.D. 1000, as stated above. If the data in Dr. Henning's hand be free of any doubt, the only possible, though perhaps not easily acceptable, explanation may be found in the following theory put forward just as a possibility :—

We may assume that the Manichæan community of Central Asia after some time, perhaps after the severance of their connection with Babylonia, the original centre of the religion, adopted, in the arrangement of their religious calendar, the Turco-Chinese system (the local calendar of their country) and substituted the Chinese months for the Babylonian.<sup>1</sup> The difference between the two calendars, which corresponded exactly to each other except in a very small divergence as to the beginning of the months, did not interfere much with the right time of the observance of religious duties. The divergence consisted in the Babylonian calendar having been based on the New Light for the beginning of the lunar months and the Chinese system being based on the New Moon. Therefore the difference was only one day, or sometimes two days. Otherwise, in spite of the difference in the place of the intercalary months in

<sup>1</sup> Was the difference of one day as to the beginning of fasts (*bāchāg*) between two parties of Bakhshis in the Mongol period attested by Nasīr ad-dīn Tūsī (see my excursus in *BSOS.*, xi, 1, p. 48), a trace of a dispute between two Manichæan parties of whom one, the conservatives, kept to the orthodox Babylonian reckoning as regards the times of the fasts and the other used the Turco-Chinese reckoning ?

the two calendars the correspondence of the months and the days was always complete. Thus the Manichæans of Central Asia may have arranged the times of their fasts instead of (1) two days in the middle of the Babylonian month Kānūn I (full moon), (2) two days in the beginning of Kānūn II, (3) two days in the middle of the same month, and (4) one month beginning on the 8th of Shabat and ending on the 8th of Adār (or in intercalary years with two Adārs beginning on the 8th of Adār I and ending on the 8th of Adār II), in the following order: (1) in the middle of the eleventh Chinese month, (2) in the beginning of the twelfth Chinese month, (3) in the middle of the same month, (4) 30 days (or 29) beginning on the 8th day of the first Chinese month (quarter moon). The last two fasts of two days each fell therefore in the beginning and 26th-27th of the fast month (i.e. on the 8th and the 9th of the first Chinese month and on the 4th and 5th of the second Chinese month, the Bema coming on the 8th day of the latter). As stated above, the two series of dates (Babylonian and Chinese) corresponded always with each other except in a difference of one or two days due to the difference of the times of the phases of the new moon and the New Light, the Chinese date being by so much earlier than the Babylonian. Now the implication of the above-mentioned advance of thirty days of the *Yimkis* in A.D. 1000, as compared with their usual position in the year (if their position is given correctly by the author of the fragment and is not due to a mistake in working out by backward calculation), may be that towards the end of the tenth century, owing to an unknown reason, this Manichæan community put the periods of their fasts one month back, and thus arranged them in the middle of the 10th, the beginning of the 11th, the middle of the same, and the 8th of the 12th—8th of the 1st Turco-Chinese months. If this was so it would account for giving the name of *Chaqshabat* to the twelfth Turkish month and would explain this difficult and puzzling denomination.<sup>1</sup> Was this shifting of the places of the fasting times in the year due to the receding of the Sogdian year and the falling of the Sogdian New Year close to (or in some years, such as A.D. 1005, exactly on) the Bema Day? If this shifting really took place then the difference in the religious calendar might have caused a greater separation of the western and eastern Manichæan communities than before, just as a difference of one month in the reckoning of the two Parsi communities in

<sup>1</sup> See remark (3) of the above-mentioned excursus (*BSOS.*, xi, 45-6).

India (the Shahanshahis and the Kadimis), due to the intercalation of one month carried out most probably about A.D. 1130, was the reason for the schism among the Indian Zoroastrians.

(d) In the excursus to the article on Sasanian Chronology (*BSOS.*, xi, part 1, pp. 42-51), having supposed that the beginning of the Manichæan fast of one month (the fourth fast of *al-Fihrist*) was always on the 8th Shabat, I maintained that the passage in *al-Fihrist* relating to the time of this fast must be interpreted as meaning that the *eighth day* of the lunar month on which the fasting began was in the astronomical month of Aquarius (the time of the sun's being in this Zodiacal sign), but not the *first* of that month, as otherwise the end of the fast month (which was the Bema Day) could not always fall in March as St. Augustine expressly states. But I realized later that the fast began on the 8th Shabat only in the common years, but that in the Babylonian intercalary years with two Adārs it was the 8th of Adār I on which the fast month began, and in that case it ended on the 8th (or 7th) of Adār II. Thus the beginning of the lunar month, on the 8th of which the fast began, fell always, almost without exception, after the sun's entry in Aquarius, and the end of the fast was on the 8th Adār in common years and the 8th of Adār II in intercalary years. That is to say that the Bema Day fell almost invariably in March (though it might fall very rarely on the last day or the day before the last of February). This rule was certainly true for several centuries after Mānī, until the position of the Julian month March advanced in the tropical year, and the vernal equinox, which was about the 21st of that month in the time of Mānī, receded gradually, until, for instance, it fell in the middle of the month in the tenth century. Part 2 of the above-mentioned excursus must therefore be revised in the light of this, and the supposed difficulty of the beginning of the Babylonian month (on the 8th day of which fasting began) being in Aquarius, will be thus removed. The second of the three "remarks" (Part 2) would therefore fall to the ground. Moreover, the astronomical explanation of the times of the different fasts in *al-Fihrist* conforms exactly with the arrangement of the Babylonian calendar, and if that calendar was not originally based on this combination of the lunar and solar months, it certainly corresponded with the order described by the author of *al-Fihrist*; since, for instance, the full moon of the Babylonian lunar month Kānūn II, which was the

time of the first fast, has always been (in the time of Mānī and many centuries after him) in the astronomical month of Sagittarius, and the beginning of Shabat in common years (and the beginning of Adār I in intercalary years) in Aquarius, as already stated. Thus the luni-solar definition of the position of the fasts given by an-Nadim is in fact a good description of the Babylonian months (as Dr. Henning rightly remarks). In the Babylonian intercalary years the whole time-table of the fasts was certainly one full (Babylonian) month advanced.

(e) The number of the Manichæan fasts given in *al-Fihrist* (four), and that implied by the tables of *Yimkis* in the above Sogdian fragments (five), are not to my mind irreconcilable or conflicting with each other. The version of *al-Fihrist* relates only to the four different times of the year in which the times of the fasting, as separated from each other, fell [i.e. in common years the middle of Kānūn I, the beginning of Kānūn II, the middle of the same month (in each of which a double-day fasting took place), and the 8th Shabat–8th Adār, or one month's fasting, during which the Manichæan auditors used to fast only from sunrise to sunset (with the exception of some days therein when again double-day fasting was observed)], rather than to the order of the five double-day fasts (forty-eight hours) of which the two last were included in that last fast of one month. If on the other hand the Manichæan community (perhaps of later times) attached more particular importance to these two double-day fastings than to the rest of their fast months, and thus recorded on their tables five bigger fasts or *Yimkis*, which in Arabic can be called *Ṣawm al-wiṣāl*, and gave a table of five sets of them without mentioning the ordinary one-day fasts,<sup>1</sup> i.e. the remaining twenty-six days out of thirty days of the fast month, this certainly had nothing to do with the number of the disconnected periods in the year in which the fasting (of no matter what kind) took place. This must rather have meant that some of the days of the fast month were regarded by them as holier than the rest, and perhaps they spent the nights of these days in vigil (Arab. *ihyā'*), similar to the usage of the Muslims who attach more sanctity to one of the days of Ramaḍān and pass the night preceding it in vigil. It may be interesting to mention

<sup>1</sup> [This difficulty can perhaps be resolved by assuming that the Sogdian calendars were for the use of monks for whom the rules of the *Čayšapat* month brought no change.—W. B. H.]



that with the majority of Muslims (the Sunnis) this particularly sacred day is the 27th of Ramaḍān and the holy night preceding it is *lailat al-qadr*, the night in which the Koran was revealed to the Prophet and which is spent in vigil and prayer. The Muslims believe that prayers on that night will always be answered. The apparent similarity in the number (27th) to the last Manichæan *Yimki* is curious, though perhaps accidental. It was on the 27th day of the Manichæan fast month in A.D. 277 that Mānī died. This fast month began in that year on Wednesday, 31st January (8th Shabat), and Mānī died on Monday, 26th February or 27th of the fast month (4th Adār). Another curious similarity is to be found between the last Manichæan *Yimki* and the *lailat al-Qadr* of the Shī'a Muslims, who believe that the place of the holy night in the fast month is unknown; but according to their tradition it must most probably be one of the nights preceding the 19th, 21st, and 23rd of Ramaḍān, i.e. (according to the Shī'a) the day on which 'Alī, their first Imām, was fatally wounded by his assassin, the day on which he consequently died, and the third day of the death when, according to the Oriental custom, the mourning is concluded. They observe vigil and prayer on all these three nights to be sure of not missing the holy night and the right and special hour in it. The similarity is more striking as the last *Yimki* corresponds with the day of Mānī's death and the Bema with the third day of the death, i.e. the second day after it.

(f) The denomination of some of the *Yimkis* (double-day fasts) of the Manichæans after the Manichæan saints, such as Mār Sisīn and perhaps Mānī himself, explained by Dr. Henning (as a matter of fact the *Yimkis* of Ormizd and Mār Sisīn are mentioned in the fragments), raises a difficult question. For if this denomination was due to the fact that these *Yimki* days corresponded with the martyrdom of some of these saints, this would make the institution of these fasts by Mānī very doubtful, and would suggest their institution after the death of Mānī. But this late institution is not very likely, and the assumption of these fasts being established by the founder of the religion seems to be more reasonable. Would it not be permissible to suppose that only the last two *Yimkis*, which are not mentioned in *al-Fihrist*, were instituted by the faithful and the leaders of the religion after the death of Mānī, in commemoration of the beginning and the end of his suffering, i.e. his imprisonment and his martyrdom, and that the source of the version

of *al-Fihrist* (which omits to mention these two double-day fasts) was the original book of Mānī himself? The same can be inferred also from Dr. Henning's ingenious suggestion to the effect that the interval between the fourth and fifth *Yimkis* (or the fourth and fifth double-day fasts), namely twenty-six days, "represents the twenty-six days of Mānī's suffering," as this supposition would again make it probable that the two double-day fasts included in the fast month and omitted by *al-Fihrist* really were of later foundation, instituted, as stated above, in commemoration of the first and last days of Mānī's suffering in prison.

(g) The length of the lunar year of the Manichæans of Central Asia was (according to what is inferred from the above tables) 354 days 2 hours and 24 minutes. The basis of this year is unknown to me. It is not based on the Chinese calculation, as the Chinese lunar year is believed to be 354 d. 8 h. 48 m. 36 s. It is perhaps interesting to note that ten Sogdian years are exactly equal to ten Manichæan lunar years + 109 days, and hence every 3,650 lunar years = 3,541 Sogdian years strictly.

In working out the above chronological points I used for my calculations: *Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln*, by R. Schram, and *Hilfstafeln zur Technischen Chronologie*, by P. V. Neugebauer.

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## The Date of Jāmi's Silsilat al-dhahab

By D. S. ROBERTSON

(PLATE XV)

THE date of the composition of Jāmi's "Chain of Gold" is usually given, for instance, by E. G. Browne in his *Literary History of Persia*, iii, p. 516, as A.H. 890. This is certainly the date of the second of its three *daftar*, for the poet states the fact plainly in its penultimate *bayt*, and the addition of 890 in figures in a few MSS., notably the famous Leningrad autograph, Rosen No. 80, adds nothing to this evidence. In very few MSS., however, to judge from the many catalogues which I have searched, is there any other indication of the date of any part of the poem, but I have found descriptions of two, which contain matter conflicting with the extension to the first *daftar* of the date of the second. The more important is No. 185 in vol. ii of the Catalogue of the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore (Patna, Bihar), published in 1910. This volume is missing from the two Cambridge copies of the Catalogue, but Dr. L. D. Barnett has kindly transcribed the entry for me from the copy in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. It runs as follows: "No. 185. Silsilat al-dhahab, daftar 1, and minor lyrical poems, supposed to be in the author's own hand. MS. not dated but contains note and chronograms on birth of Jāmi's son, Shauwal 9, 882." The Secretary and Librarian of the Oriental Public Library, Khan Saheb K. Hassan, has since called my attention to an article by Mr. M. Mahfuz-ul Haq in *Islamic Culture*, i, 1927, pp. 608 ff., entitled "Jami and his Autographs". Mr. Mahfuz-ul Haq publishes a photograph and transcription of the note in the Bankipore MS., which is in the same hand as the text, and seems, as he maintains, to be identical with that of the Leningrad autograph. He has not, however, noticed the difficulty of reconciling the date A.H. 882 with the date A.H. 890, which he gives (p. 608) as the date of the whole poem, and falsely assigns (p. 610) to the first *daftar* in the Leningrad autograph. The other is an undated but late MS. in the India Office (No. 421, Ethé 1323), of which Ethé writes, in the 1903 Catalogue: "1323. Silsilat-al-dhahab. First book on fol. 1<sup>b</sup>; according to the colophon this part of the mathnawī was composed already in A.H. 880 (A.D. 1475, 1476); second book on fol. 138<sup>b</sup>; the colophon here

gives the usual date of composition, viz. A.H. 890; *third* book on fol. 196<sup>b</sup>. No date. Many annotations on the margin throughout." With this MS. no doubt, in mind, Ethé in the posthumous second (1930) volume of the Bodleian Catalogue (col. 1569) dates the *Silsilat al-dhahab* "A.H. 880-890": in the first (1889) volume (col. 609) he had written, "The author finished it A.H. 890 = A.D. 1485." In March, 1945, Dr. H. N. Randle, with extraordinary kindness, extracted this manuscript from a war-time store, and deposited it for my use in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The colophons of the first and second books seem to be in the same hand, but it is perhaps not that of the text, and no space was originally allowed for them. That on the second book runs:

از هجرت نبوت هشتصد و نود سال بود که این دفتر ختم شد

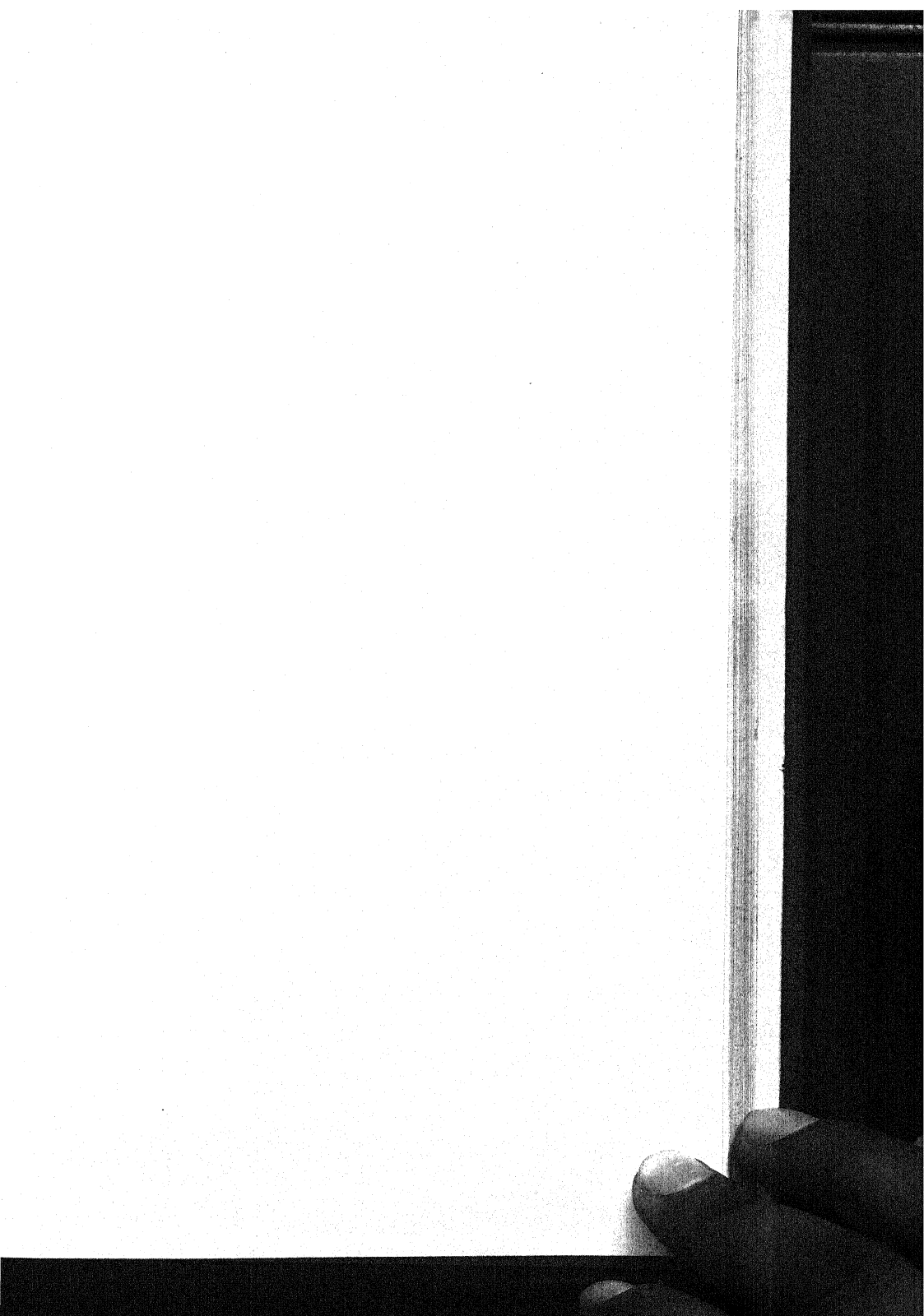
which is simply a correct interpretation of the *abjad* date given by the poet. That on the first book is more important: it runs as follows, in three lines:—

چون سابقاً اشارت بتاریخ نظم این دفتر شده بود اینجا تاریخ  
نوشته نشد

بیشتر زین هشتصد و هشتاد بدعایش رسول دست کشاد

This would seem to mean "As a hint of the date of the composition of this book was made before, the date was not written here. 880 years before this the Prophet spread his hand in his prayer", but the language is obscure: the last line is in poor verse. It may be guessed that this is a copy of a note made in the year 880 by the scribe of some lost MS.

One other piece of published evidence implies, for what it may be worth, a date for part of the *Silsilat al-dhahab* earlier than A.H. 890. This is the familiar story, told by Browne, Fitzgerald, and Nassau Lees, of the accusation of disrespect to 'Alī, in a passage of this poem, levelled against Jāmi when he passed through Baghdad, on his way home from pilgrimage in A.H. 877-8. All three writers seem to borrow directly or indirectly from Rosenzweig's *Biographische Notizen* of 1840, and Rosenzweig's authority was apparently the A.H. 1236 Turkish translation of the *Rashahāt-i 'Ainu'l Hayāt* of 'Alī b. Ḥusain al-Kāshifī, surnamed Ṣafī. The Persian text of this work, composed in A.H. 919, just over twenty years after Jāmi's death, is not accessible to me, and I have not



که کم در س عشق را تحقیق  
 بر آن دقتری ز تو ساوم      داستان و کوهی و ازم

و ربانند بخار و عمارت شیر

حسنت الله لی یا موحیه

فرخ الناطق عناءه عن منظمه الحق  
 یوم الحقه و فی القعه شه سنه و

سبعمی و شایه تمام شد

کتابه رسم دی الح

ازج و شایه

۶۶۶



traced the anecdote to its source. It is curious that Browne tells the story without noticing that it conflicts with his own date of A.H. 890. Mr. Mahfuz-ul Haq, in the article in *Islamic Culture* already mentioned, points out (p. 613) that Ṣafī seems, from a statement in the *Rashahāt-i 'Ainu'l Hayāt*, to have transcribed from the Bankipore MS. Jāmī's note on his son's birth, a fact which shows his serious interest in the chronology of Jāmī's life.

I have lately acquired a MS. of the first *daftar* of the *Silsilat al-dhahab* which settles the problem once and for all, in a manner consistent with all the other evidence, for it proves that this *daftar* was in fact finished in the year before the alleged trouble at Baghdad. This MS. belonged to Edward Heron-Allen, who observed the dates given in its colophon, but does not seem to have appreciated their importance.

The colophon (shown in Pl. XV slightly enlarged) runs <sup>1</sup> :—

فرغ الناظم عفا الله عنه من نظم هذا الكتاب بعد صلاة  
يوم الجمعة غرّه ذى القعدة سنة ست و  
سبعين وثمانمائة تمام شد  
كتابه در ششم ذى الحجة  
اربع و ثمانين  
و ثمانمائة

Professor Minorsky translates: "Finished the composition of this book by the composer (may God pardon him!) after the Friday prayers of the first of Dhul-Qa'da of the year 876. Finished the copying of it on the 6th of Dhul-Hijja of 884."

Professor Minorsky tells me that the dates correspond to 10th April, 1472, and 18th February, 1480, and that the first was in fact a Friday. He finds no difficulty in accepting 884 as the date of the MS., which makes it the oldest but one of extant recorded

<sup>1</sup> I am deeply indebted to my teacher, Professor V. Minorsky, who read and corrected the first draft of this article in manuscript, and also transcribed and translated the colophons. It may be useful to some future editor of Jāmī to know

copies, coming after the Bankipore autograph, though the India Office MS. seems to reflect a lost copy also earlier than 884. The well-known dedication of the first *daftar* to Sultān Huṣayn is consistent with the date A.H. 876, for his long reign began in A.H. 872 or 873 and lasted till A.H. 911.

It is now clear that the first *daftar* of the *Silsilat al-dhahab* is one of Jāmi's earliest dated works. The only earlier date given by Browne is A.H. 863, for the prose *Naqd al-nuṣūṣ*, but the earliest collection of his lyrical poems, later incorporated in the First *Divān*, was dedicated to Sultān Abū Sa'id about A.H. 867, and of this there are several early MSS., including one in the British Museum (Rieu, 288), dated A.H. 868, and one in the India Office (Ethé, 1307), dated A.H. 874. It is significant that the Bankipore autograph of the first *daftar* of the *Silsilat al-dhahab* also contains minor lyrical poems. The interval of fourteen years between A.H. 876 and A.H. 890 is somewhat surprising, since the poet makes it clear, in the last section of the first *daftar*, that he has it in mind to add a second, but the evidence is conclusive.

PS.—Since this article was printed I have obtained a copy of a Cawnpore lithograph of the Persian text of Ṣafī's *Rashahāt-i 'Ainu'l Hayāt*. This work proves to be in fact Rosenzweig's source. It gives (p. 145) A.H. 877 as the date of the start of Jāmi's pilgrimage, and adds (p. 146) the welcome detail, omitted by Rosenzweig, that the accusation of disrespect to 'Alī concerned certain verses of "the first *daftar* of the *Silsilat al-dhahab*".

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## Burton Memorial Lecture

### From Cana (Husn Ghorab) to Sabbatha (Shabwa): The South Arabian Incense Road

By HAROLD INGRAMS

(PLATES XVI-XVIII)

SOMETIME in 1921 I was sitting in the shade of a mango tree on the top of a bluff overlooking the mangrove-filled creek of Chake-Chake in Pemba, called by the Arabs the Green Island. I was the guest of the Sheikh of the Mauli tribe, Sheikh Salim bin Khalif, at his clove plantation of Kaole. There were a lot of Maulis, who came from the Wadi al Ma'awil in 'Uman, in positions of authority in Pemba, and with me sat Sheikh Abdulla Mbaruk al Mauli, the Mudir of Chake-Chake. We were watching the little ship *Khalifa* far out at her anchorage. Presently one of my boat-boys climbed up the hill and handed me a large bag of mail brought from the ship. In it was a parcel. I opened it and took out the two fat volumes of *Zanzibar, City, Island, and Coast*. That was my introduction to the works of Sir Richard Burton.

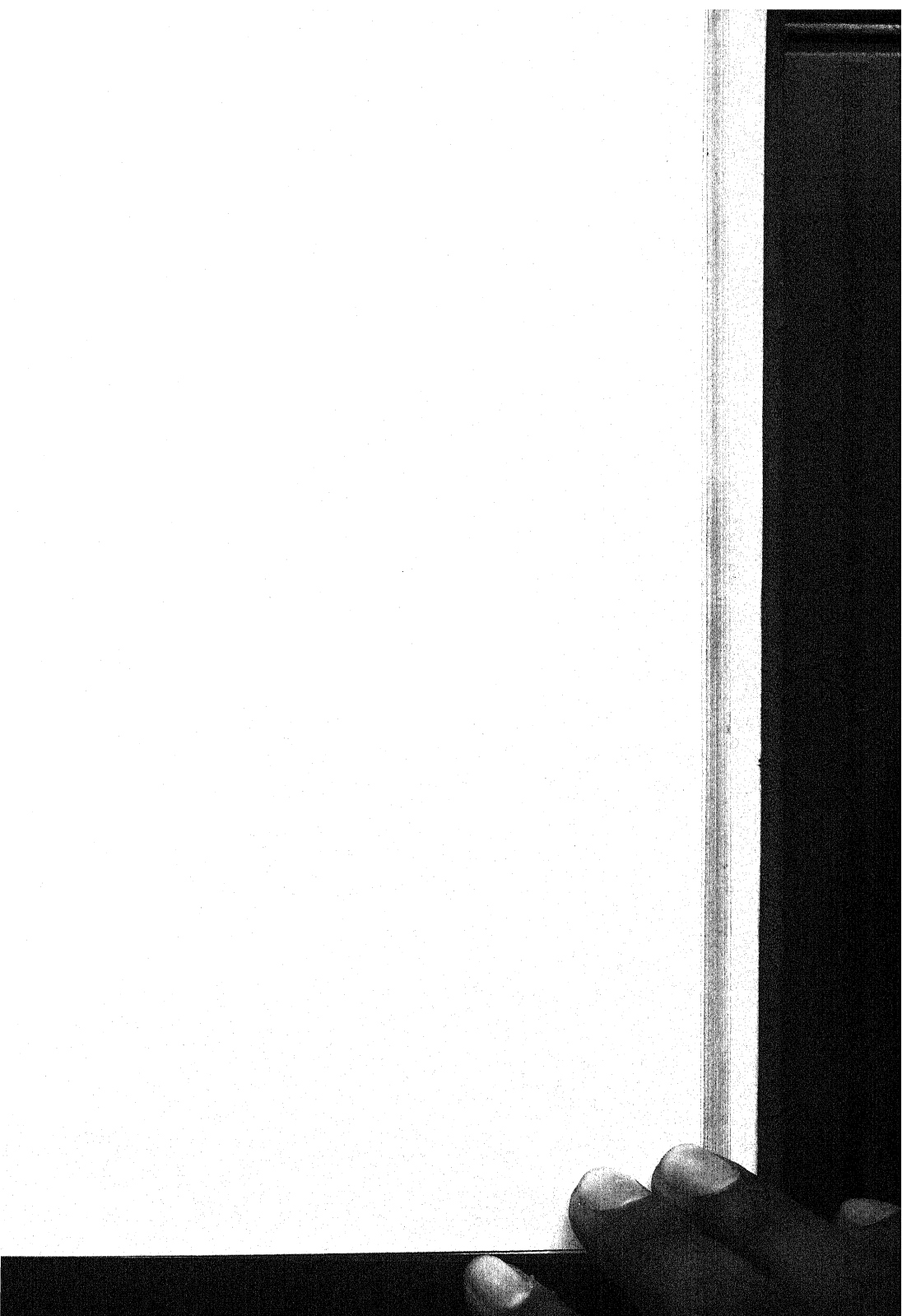
Sheikh Abdulla and I looked through the pictures, and I read to him what Burton said of Chake-Chake some seventy to eighty years before. It did not seem likely that anyone would be alive who had seen Burton in Pemba, but later Sheikh Abdulla took me to see Sheikh Ali Muhammad Rubhi who remembered Burton's arrival quite well. He thought Burton had been the first Englishman to visit the island, and remembered some Portuguese treasure hunters coming before. This old man died shortly after at the age of 104.

When we reached Aden in 1934 I was again on ground very familiar to Burton. I have now collected most of Burton's books and what has been written about him, and I have visited or lived in several of the places Burton visited. When my wife and I went to Harar in 1942 we used *First Footsteps* as our guide. This involves entering Harar by the southern gate, whereas to-day the main entrance is at the north, but there have been few changes in Harar, and Burton's description is still a good guide. Wandering round Trieste I have thought of Burton's last seventeen years there, and on many leaves I have paid pilgrimage to his tomb at Mortlake.

Once, having lost the way, I found myself outside the Anglican church, and asked a local if he could tell me the way to the Catholic. "I'm afraid I don't rightly know," he said, "that's not it; that's the Christian church." I could not help thinking how that might have amused Burton.

I can claim, then, to have had an interest in Burton for many years, but I never imagined that one day I should be called upon to deliver a lecture in memory of him, and I must say that my knowledge of him makes me feel particularly inadequate to do so. So feeling unfitted to give a lecture "on the great explorer and his travels" I have chosen the alternative of "a cognate subject".

Burton never managed to reach the Hadhramaut, though as Mr. Bertram Thomas recalled in his Burton lecture, one of his schemes was to cross from Mecca to Mukalla. That journey was done by Mr. Philby in 1936, and he and Mr. Thomas have between them removed "that opprobrium to modern adventure, the huge white blot which in our maps still notes the Eastern and Central regions of Arabia". Of the country he was to cross on his way to Mukalla, Burton says, "Of the Rub' al Khali I have heard enough, from credible relators, to conclude that its horrid depths swarm with a large and half-starving population; that it abounds in wadys, valleys, gullies, and ravines, partially fertilized by intermittent torrents," and this to me reads much more like a description of the steppe lands of the Hadhramaut than it does of the Rub al Khali. This area, though by no means swarming with people, is much more thickly populated than the Rub' al Khali. Its population is always half starving, and it certainly abounds in wadies, gullies, and ravines which I should not have thought was a good description of the Rub' al Khali. On Mr. Philby's journey from Mecca to Mukalla he made the first thorough preliminary examination of Shabwa, and Shabwa was the main goal of the short journey I am going to describe. I cannot help thinking how this journey would have appealed to Burton. Not only would he have had plenty to say about its beduins, but the archæology would have given him enough material to fill another stout volume or two. By the time Burton made his pilgrimage Welsted had already discovered the first Himyaritic inscriptions, including one I saw on my journey, and Von Wrede had found another long one, also on my route, which was not seen again till nearly a hundred years later. My wife rediscovered it. Mr. Philby has kindly undertaken



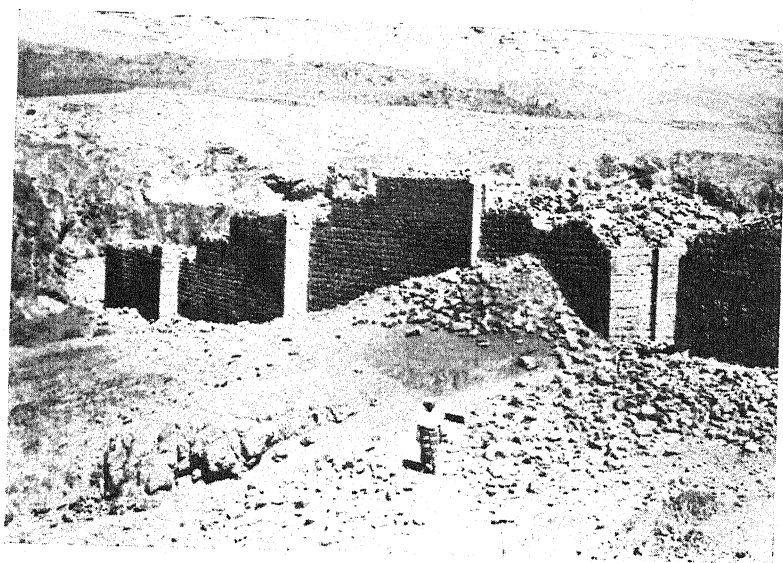


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



to comment on some of the inscriptions on my route, so that you will be provided at the end with a sort of archæological *bonne bouche* to make up for the plain fare I have to offer (Pl. XVI, 2).

Nearly all we have known of the incense route until recent years comes from the classical writers, and most of it from Pliny. Pliny gives details about the finance of the trade and tells us that at Shabwa a tenth of the incense was taken by the priests and other shares went to the King's secretaries, the keeper of the incense, the gatekeepers, and other employees. Probably these were just the standard bribes or rake-offs taken in South Arabia to-day. The king of the Gebanitæ took a tax when it passed through his country, and all along the route there was at one place water to pay for, at another fodder, lodging, and various taxes and imposts besides. The Carnaites, a northern Miñæan community, took a share, and at Petra the Nabatæans levied a large tax. By the time the incense got to the Mediterranean the expenses on each camel-load were 688 denarii. The detailed information in Pliny and Ptolemy is so accurate that one wonders if they had not access to the account of some actual traveller, an Alexandrine may be, who had made his way from Cana to the Mediterranean. What a fascinating find such an account would be.

Of recent years interest in the incense route has been largely revived by Miss Stark, whose book, *The Southern Gates of Arabia*, gave an excellent summary of what was known.

In the winter of 1937-8 she came again to the Hadhramaut with Miss Caton Thompson, the archæologist, and Miss Gardner, the geologist, and made for Hureidha. The work of that winter has been described by Miss Stark in *Winter in Arabia* and by Miss Caton Thompson in *The Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha*. At the end of their stay Miss Stark travelled down from Hureidha via 'Amd and the Deiyyin country and 'Azzan to Balhaf. She was inclined to think that the incense route might lie through Wadi 'Amd and Wadi Jerdan and the country she traversed.

Miss Caton Thompson's admirable monograph contributes more than anything we have previously had to our knowledge of the ancient south Arabians, and we have a picture of a small agricultural community lying on the eastern outskirts of the old Hadhramaut civilization just as now it lies on the western. It is no matter for regret that her work was done not in what were the great centres

of old, which will undoubtedly receive attention in the future, but in a country village that might well be neglected.

I may have been over bold in calling my lecture "The Incense Road". Miss Caton Thompson says:—

"Nothing would be permanently gained by attempting to place the ancient Madhab of our pioneer excavations on or off a still hypothetical Incense Route, that seductive thoroughfare of speculation so zealously explored of recent years by ready writers regardless of the essential requirement of an archaeological distribution map; and prone, moreover, to over-simplify the excursion by assuming the synchronism of the few surface ruins which appear on the as yet very incomplete topographical surveys of Southern Arabia."

In the face of this I must attempt some justification for my belief that the road I am about to describe is the beginning of the main incense road from South Arabia to the Mediterranean. I do not wish to infer that incense was not carried by other roads as well. Ancient Arabia was no less subject to internal trouble than modern Arabia, and no doubt traffic had frequently to be diverted.

The Periplus tells us:—

"After Eudæmon Arabia (Aden) there is a continuous length of coast, and a bay extending two thousand stadia or more, along which there are Nomads and Fish-eaters living in villages (exactly as there are to-day); just beyond the cape projecting from this bay (which is very clear on the map) there is another market town by the shore, Cana, of the Kingdom of Eleazus, the Frankincense country; and facing it there are two desert islands, one called Island of Birds, the other Dome Island, one hundred and twenty stadia from Cana. (Both these islands are easily identifiable to-day, the one because it is the haunt of countless sea birds which provide valuable guano and the other because it is dome-shaped). Inland from this place lies the metropolis Sabbathath, in which the king lives. All the frankincense produced in the country is brought by camels to that place to be stored and to Cana on rafts held up by inflated skins after the manner of the country and in boats.

"Beyond Cana, the land receding greatly, there follows a very deep bay stretching a great way across and the Frankincense country, mountainous and forbidding. . . . On this bay there is a very great promontory facing the east, called Syagrus (Ras Fartak) on which is . . . a harbour and storehouse for the Frankincense that is collected."

From this description two things are clear: (1) that the incense gathered in the Hadhramaut itself was brought by camels to Sabbathath, the Sabota of Pliny and the modern Shabwa, to be stored, and (2) that the incense of the Frankincense country, the modern Dhofar, was stored at Fartak and taken thence by sea to Cana, the modern Husn Ghorab or Raven Castle. From Cana it went

by caravan to Shabwa. From Shabwa the incense was taken *via* Petra to the Mediterranean. Pliny makes it quite clear that the incense was in the main through traffic. This being so it seems to me there is no point in imagining that those through loads of incense were carried on circuitous routes. Even the incense carried in dhows from Dhofar to Aden to-day requires whole caravans if carried overland, and there is no reason to suppose that the caravans of old followed any other than the shortest practicable route between Husn Ghorab and Shabwa. And I found when I followed that route there was plenty of evidence of its use in ancient days though it is practically deserted to-day. In all probability it was the main road, and I found evidence suggesting that the incense-bearing region of the Hadhramaut—a much smaller region than that of Dhofar—was also in that neighbourhood.

My journey was arranged on the spur of the moment. It was in April, 1939, and I was due to start on a tour of Malaya, Java, and Hyderabad in June. It was a long time since I had had a decent outing on camels, Mukalla was getting extremely hot, and there was far too much paper-work in the Residency. Both my assistants were on tour. My wife had just come back from an exciting trip in the Hajr Province. One morning—it was the 15th April—I was contemplating a file on the affairs of Bir 'Ali which needed a closer attention than they were getting, when a peon brought in a wireless signal—about the tenth in half as many days—of trouble in the Shabwa-Al 'Abr area. Why shouldn't I go and see about it myself? Travel from Bir 'Ali to Shabwa and see the incense road at the same time?

On the 17th I embarked with two companions on a small dhow called the *Venus*. One was Salih 'Ali al Khulaqi, a Yafa'i friend of previous journeys who had just come back with my wife, but was quite ready to start again, and the other 'Umar Muheirez, one of my political assistants. Our captain was confident we should reach Bir 'Ali the next morning, but there was little wind and we were barely moving when, three hours later at midnight, the lights of Mukalla were turned out and I drifted into sleep.

I woke at dawn to find us not near Bir 'Ali but just off Burum, fourteen miles from Mukalla. However the breeze freshened and we were in Bir 'Ali harbour just before sunset. No one knew we were coming, so Salih fired a couple of shots. The immediate result was not very promising, for we saw the gates of the little walled

town shut and everybody on the beach made haste to enter the wicket.

It is only Sultans and the like who fire shots of arrival, and as all the Sultans were complete and the people could not think who else could be coming in a friendly way they took their precautions. However a lad presently came off in a canoe to investigate, and seeing who it was returned to the shore. The gates were flung open again, off came a large boat for us, and as we reached the shore there was Sultan Nasir bin Talib in front of a long line of tribesmen welcoming us with round after round of rifle fire which stabbed the night with flashes of light.

We had only had a fish to eat since the night before so we did full justice to the mountain of mutton, wheat cakes, and Jerdan honey which appeared about ten, and soon after we were asleep on the palace roof.

Next morning after a breakfast of coffee, wheat cakes, and honey we embarked in canoes and visited Husn Ghorab on and around which are the ruins of Cana. If I had known what it was going to be like climbing the hill on a morning like that I should not have attempted it, for the path was precipitous and recent rains had made it more than usually difficult with three overhanging places which I could barely crawl past.

It was a magnificent fortress site. The top is covered with ruins of houses and cisterns and rubble, and the sandy spit below joining it to the mainland also has traces of old building. I saw the inscription Wellsted recorded about 1838. There is no doubt that this was the Cana of the Periplus, but it was also probably the Canneh of Ezechiel (xxvii, 23).

When we got back to Bir 'Ali the camels had not yet come, but during lunch Kennedy walked in from Balhaf on his way back to Mukalla with three miserable looking beasts following him. These we took over, and about two left the Bir with them and a one-armed beduin. It is an interesting commentary on travel in the Hadhramaut these days that we could leave without a weapon between us to cross Dhiyeibi country. But as it happened we did not meet a soul till we came near the Wadi Hajr, a day and a half later. It was most desolate country. Sand and basalt to begin with and then just rocks. All our beduin referred to it as the empty quarter and said many knew it as such. We reached the wall at Bana the next midday.

Here and there on the way we had come across Himyaritic scratchings, odd letters, and words hammered out on the rocks, which showed us we were passing along an ancient route. Of its importance there could be no doubt, for as we got nearer to Bana every little gulley which could have offered an alternative passage was blocked with a masonry wall, and the only passage was one 7 feet broad through this very impressive wall about 200 yards long which stretched from the mountain side to the precipitous wadi wall. The wall was built of shaped stones and was 4 or 5 feet thick and had been perhaps 20 feet high, though its top courses were much damaged in parts. In the passage, 17 feet in length, was the inscription copied by Von Wrede nearly a hundred years before, and by my wife a few weeks ago. No European had seen it between them (Pl. XVI, 1).

It was a well-chosen place, and 'Ali, our beduin, assured us that there was literally no other passable route. The Wadi Bana below had water in it and was here deep with unscalable walls. It was also so narrow that it reminded me of the Sik at Petra, and it opened out into a wider space such as that within which Petra is situated. There were a few caves, but nothing to show if there had been a settlement. I am inclined to believe this is the Bana of Ptolemy rather than the Wadi Bana, about 150 miles further west in Abyan in Fadhli country. There is a tradition in the Hadhramaut that the original home of the sons of 'Ad was at Bana and knowing no other Bana local historians have supposed it was in Abyan. But there are no ancient remains in the other Bana, and it seems probable that Ptolemy would have placed on his map the stages of the incense route which must have been one of the best known routes of ancient days. Furthermore everything suggested the truth of Pliny's account of a single track from which it was a capital offence to deviate. Von Wrede calls the place Obne or Libne, and this mistake has led to its being overlooked.

Bana, the inscription tells us, is a boundary, and it is interesting to compare the situation in the area to-day with what we know of the past. Bana is still a boundary between two kingdoms, the Wahidi Sultanates and the Qu'aiti State, but we can disregard that for present purposes for it only dates from the Qu'aiti conquest of Hajr Province in the last thirty years.

In the past the Himyarite kingdom had the coast and the Sabæans, of whom the Atramitæ were a community, the interior. It would

probably be fair to suppose that Nakab al Hajar, the Maipha Metropolis of Ptolemy, was their capital. The name Maipha remains for the wadi in which the ruins remain is called Meifa'a. That was their Pretoria, their Cape Town was Cana—Husn Ghorab. To-day the Wahidi country is divided into two sultanates held by branches of the same family. The Bir 'Ali branch lives at Bir 'Ali, a mile from Husn Ghorab and using the same harbour, and the Balhaf branch lives at 'Azzan, no more than a few miles from Nakab al Hajar. They have made a new port at Balhaf, a much inferior harbour to Bir 'Ali. So disregarding this fairly recent split you still have a Pretoria and a Cape Town on practically the old sites. Furthermore a section of the Wahidis is still called Himyar. What has happened to-day is that another section has become the leading one, as often happens in Arabian history.

The Bana wall is also a tribal boundary between the Wahidi tribes and the Hajr tribes who, I suggest, were tribes under the Atramitæ with their capital at Sabota or Sabbathath, the modern Shabwa.

In the course of history Himyar absorbed Saba. When I was travelling over the road beyond Bana I asked, for political reasons, the various tribes up to and including the Bal 'Ubeid confederation, if they were independent, or acknowledged any Dola. Every one of them, including the Hakm at Ma'abir, said they were independent, but that of old the Sultan of Bir 'Ali had been their Dola. It seems to me that here there is an echo of the conquest of Saba by Himyar, and as we well know at Mukalla to-day the old Bir 'Ali Sultan was always claiming Shabwa and the tribes of Hajr, now under Qu'aiti rule, and the Bal 'Ubaid. He also claimed Wadi Jerdan, the Gorda of Ptolemy.

Pliny, who mentions that the section of the Sabæans living in Shabwa itself were the Atramitæ, i.e. the Hadhramis, tells us that the incense left Shabwa carried by the Minæans through their own country, when it passed through the countries of the Gebonitæ, the Carnaites, and the Nabatæans. Aelius Gallus' expedition against Sabæa got as far as the valley of the Minæans which may have been the Wadi Beihan. The furthest place they reached was Marsiabi, probably the country of the Mas'abi tribe. There is a story that the Empress Helena, an indefatigable searcher after sites connected with the New Testament story, sent envoys to South Arabia to discover the bones of the Magi. They are said



to have found them at Sessania Adrumetorium, and they duly returned with bones to Constantinople. They lay there until they were taken to Milan, and in 1164 to Cologne Cathedral. The only place in the Hadhramaut with a name in the least like Sessania is 'Azzan, the successor of Maipha metropolis. Possibly St. Helena had access to the writings of the classical geographers on the incense country and, if so, that city, whether on its old site or its new, would be as reasonable a place as any to search. Perhaps it was known as Sessania of the Hadhramis, the metropolis of the Meifa'a valley.

After descending a terrible pass at Nu'ab we got down within a few miles of the River Hajr that night, passing many inscriptions which I did not copy as my wife and Salih had already done so. There was a large number of rough inscriptions by the wayside, and these alone point to the road being important. As to-day so of old, no doubt, most of the people of the country were illiterate and it was only the "clerks" and merchants with caravans who passed idle moments at halts carving their names or odd letters by the wayside. Indeed Ibn Khallikan mentions in one of his biographies that only the upper classes were allowed to learn the Himyarite Musnad script. There are occasionally scribblings on most main routes in the Hadhramaut, but I have never seen so many as on this.

I was interested to see in this Hajr area a type of inscribed stone which my wife had discovered. She brought an example to Mukalla for the museum. These were upright stones sometimes carved with the representation of a bearded face with things rather like Egyptian symbols below. At the sides of the stone were others and a flat one laid before it so that the whole looked rather like a chair. They may have been wayside prayer places. Some were more perfect than others and some had no carvings.

Next morning we changed camels and for two days rode beside the river, bathing, swimming, and washing ourselves and our clothes in its limpid green waters (Pl. XVII, 2). Those were a pleasant two days, and we generally had company at meals. Indeed at lunch we usually got our visitors to make the bread in the ashes of the fire, hot sweet dough washed down with ample tea. 'Umar was tired—or lazy—at night, and Salih and I used to cook the dinner alternately. It was always the same, rice and dried fish cooked with spices and a small tin of tomatoes, and very good

it was too. If we were alone we fried the fish and tomatoes with the ghee and the rice, but if we had company we had to be mean, do the rice separately, and then make a soup of the fish and tomatoes to pour over it.

Two days, during which we saw inscriptions again by the wayside, brought us to Sidara. At intervals on various commanding points were the ruins of ancient fortresses attributed to the sons of 'Ad, and here on the heights above Sidara were more. All these places are known as Masna'a, and I felt confident that this commanding place was the Sadasera of Ptolemy.

Here at Sidara I had my first drink of *nebidh*, the wine tapped from the *nashar* palm. It was afternoon when it was brought to us, guaranteed fresh, and was delicious and refreshing to drink. Judging from the rather exalted state in which I was after finishing three large mugs I suspect it had started to ferment, but we all swore it was perfectly fresh, as of course it is forbidden for Muslims to drink fermented liquor.

The Wadi Hajr must be the River Prion of Ptolemy. For one thing the *Prionis fons* and *Prionis ostia* of his map give a river with very much the course of the Hajr, and for another the Hajr, being on the incense route from Cana to Shabwa, must have been a much better known river than the Maseila (Hadhramaut) with which Hogarth identified it. Like the Maseila the Hajr flows perennially and always reaches the sea. Why Ptolemy called it the River Saw is still doubtful. Forster once identified the Prion with the stream that runs above Burum on account of the serrated edges of the mountains there, and on this score Hajr can also be accepted, for the high mountains that mark its course are impressively serrated, while the flat-topped jols through which the Maseila runs for most of its course do not give the same impression when one is passing through its valley. I asked the people of Sidara if they could give an explanation, and I was offered the ingenious suggestion that the river was named after the serrated palm from which the *nebidh* is drawn, for both the palm (*nashar*) and the word for saw (*minshar*) come from the same Arabic root. My wife had seen on her Hajr trip more snakes than she had ever seen in all the Hadhramaut before, and my experience was the same. As I rode along one morning a green snake crossed the path and I asked if it was poisonous. I was told it was, but not very, but that there was in the district a red one whose bite caused instant

death, that it jumped at you, was *ahmar*, red or brown in colour, and was rarely found outside the Hajr region. This not only recalled Herodotus' story of the winged serpents which guarded the incense trees but also a report of Artemidorus, quoted by Strabo, who said that these serpents were a span long, red in colour, and sprang up as high as the thigh, and that their bite was incurable. I began to wonder if the Hajr region was not the Hadhramaut incense region of old, for in many of the little dry valleys off it the incense trees still flourish, and the incense is collected by Somali gatherers. One indeed had travelled with us in our dhow to Bir 'Ali, and told me a great deal more might be made of it than is made, but that until recently there had been no security in the province. Pliny says that the Hadhramaut incense region was eight stations from Sabbathath and was called Saba. It was inaccessible because of rocks on every side, while it was bounded on the right by the sea, from which it was shut out by tremendously high cliffs. Hajr suits Pliny's description as well as the Hadhramaut wadi, and in some ways even better, for owing to its difficult mountains and appalling passes it is certainly more inaccessible.

Pliny says that it was the Sabæans alone and no other people among the Arabians who beheld the incense trees, and not all of them, for not over 3,000 families had a right to that privilege by hereditary succession. He gives religious reasons for this, but it reminds me that to-day there are two scarce commodities in the Hadhramaut, each the monopoly of a tribe and indeed of certain families of those tribes. These are mangoes, grown only at Thila as Sufia, about twelve miles from Mukalla, and betel-leaf and areca-nuts grown by the Ba Hassan section of the Hamumis at Ma'adi. Others have often tried to grow these products, but the beduins concerned have invariably found out and sooner or later destroyed them. Mangoes and betel therefore fetch very high prices. So, too, perhaps there was a Sabæan monopoly of incense trees.

At Sidara we left the river and our first day out lunched at Mintaq, where there were some palms of a kind I had not yet seen, hot springs, and a hill of salt. The flavour of the salt was excellent, better I thought than that of Shabwa, but we tried in vain to knock respectably sized lumps off the great white vein exposed across the black face of the hill. We nighted in a barren valley, and next day saw incense trees growing on our way. There were still inscrip-

tions on the road, and that night we reached Yeb'eth, where we stayed with friends.

Though Von Wrede had visited Bana he had not mapped the route properly, and the way thence from Bir 'Ali had never been travelled; so from Bir 'Ali to the Hajr, which had been well mapped by Von Wissmann, I made a compass traverse. From the Hajr to Yeb'eth had all been done by Von Wissmann, so I had not had to bother about it. But from Yeb'eth to Shabwa I had to take up my compass again. Most of the bearings from Bir 'Ali to Hajr had been about 340 degrees, and so they were from Yeb'eth onwards. Up to Yeb'eth there was a much-used caravan track, but I was told there was little traffic beyond it. All the way had been marked by inscriptions, and those curious piles of stones called '*urum*. These we had remarked in the Sei'ar country, round Al 'Abr and elsewhere. Bertram Thomas had also noted them in Mahra country. They usually consist of a dozen or more piles of stones with big ones upright, and either in the middle or at the end of the row a circular enclosure. I have never found a convincing explanation of the '*urums*. They were usually by the roadside, but sometimes on the crest of neighbouring hills. Beduin suggested that they were either places for huntsmen to hide for driven gazelle or for defence, and that archers lay there to protect the routes.

We were shown some inscriptions in the Wadi Yeb'eth itself. They included representations of pairs of feet carved on some of the stones, which I had also found in association with crosses in what were alleged to be places of old Christian worship in Socotra. I have seen also a well-executed carving of crosses and feet on a marble in the Cairo Museum, and Miss Caton Thompson found an inscribed foot at Hureidha. But I felt doubtful if the incense caravans came down into the wadi.

There was no need for them to do so if they could get water from the still-used cisterns above, and the 'aqabas were dreadful. We left the place by the so-called White 'Aqaba the next day, after a pleasant lunch and bathe in a stream under the shade of the palms at Gheil. As we sat there under the trees discussing affairs and our doings a chief of the Nu'man, the tribe inhabiting this part of the country, who had accompanied us from his village of Al Qona, unfastened the *fas*, the cornelian in a silver setting worn by most tribesmen and said to have medicinal properties, from about his neck and tied it round mine, remarking that as



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.





FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



I lived as a beduin I ought to wear what the beduin wear. That done he bade me good-bye.

I started to walk up the White 'Aqaba before two, and it was after half-past five when I got to the top with my boots cut to pieces. Once on the top we had no further difficulties till we reached the 'aqaba of the Wadi 'Irma three days away. We passed through the country of the nomadic Mushajira, occasionally meeting shepherdesses with their flocks and beduins, and the second night arrived at the little village of Sha'abat in the Bal 'Ubeid country. None of the villagers had seen a European before, but as soon as they knew my name we were given a warm welcome. They had joined in the Hadhramaut peace and were grateful for the quiet lives they now led. Dinner of hot broth, cold mutton, and bread arrived late as usual. Salih and I were glad not to have to pound up dried fish for the night, and we did ample justice to the simple meal served among some ruins outside the village, where we had chosen to night instead of in a hot dar with the mosquitoes.

Sha'abat was a pleasant little village, and its fields and trees were all green from recent rain, but there were no ancient ruins. One old man said he would take me to some the next day. He was as good as his word, and early enough we were on the way to Ma'abar. Though the road was no longer much used plainly it had once been important, for apart from the usual '*urums* and inscriptions and carvings of ibex and the sun and an occasional camel, it was from six to twelve lanes wide. But after an hour or two we went on to a minor road to Ma'abar. We descended into a valley, our path lined with '*urums* and one arranged like an aisle with an altar at the top. Here we were told a marble figure had been found. In a green field at the bottom was the white marble plinth of what had apparently been a lovely little rectangular temple. We scratched among the ruins on top of it and around it, but found no more than a few potsherds (Pl. XVII, 1).

After a light lunch and coffee with the old chief and his followers we left with his blessing. He had not seen a European before, never having left Ma'abar, but we had corresponded on the subject of the peace. After an hour or two we got back on the old road, clearly the main road, and camped on the desolate jol near a water cistern, having seen a lot more graffiti and pictures of ibexes, suns, and crescent moons.

Next day we fell in with a couple of thieves who made the uncon-

vincing explanation that they were sitting on a hill above the road waiting for a friend who had promised to bring them a present from the Bir. All through this country Bir 'Ali is referred to as the Bir, the well, Balhaf as the Ras, the cape, and Mukalla as the Suq, the market. The two men, one rather a bounder and the other quieter and more helpful, joined us, and presently we came across the Mujurra. We had been told it was a motor-road and it looked for all the world like one. The stones had been cleared off and piled along the sides, as they are on our Hadhramaut tracks. Who had made it, I asked. The sons of 'Ad, was the reply: they used motors, too. It called up lovely visions of the young giants of the days of Genesis scorching over the jols in Austin Sevens as the young bloods do in Tarim to-day. Another explanation offered was that they were the tracks by which the prophet Salih's she-camel had walked into the rock, for South Arabia also claims the prophet of Thamud in the north. Possibly these roads were cleared to enable large blocks of stones for building at Shabwa to be moved along them on tree trunks used as rollers.

The Mujurra extended for miles and after gaps started again and reached almost to the 'Aqaba of Futura which leads down to 'Irma. On our way we had pointed out to us where Kilwa lay, one of the quarries of Shabwa, and we passed through another ancient quarry called Qudhih. After a long and gentle slope down we reached the 'aqaba, and there near its top was a long well-carved Himyaritic inscription. I copied it, racing against the fading light, and we made out the words "King So and So, son of King So and So", " 'Irma ", " 4 leopards ", from which we judged it commemorates a hunting expedition. But Mr. Philby will tell you about it.

The ancients had built a splendid wide masonry descent called the Tariq 'Adiya or Adite Road, but, alas, it had practically disappeared, and when I reached the bottom the sole of my other boot was flapping loose. We had no water, but were all tired and fell asleep on the sand.

I was awoken a couple of hours later by a feminine voice saying, "Milk, milk." Three beduin girls had brought us milk and water. All were comely and one quite lovely. With such company we soon came to life and cooked dinner, which our fair companions stayed to share. Afterwards they taught us beduin games on the sand, scratching mazes we had to follow to the centre, and a game of raids. It was midnight when they left to go home and we retired

to our blankets, and again in the morning they brought us fresh milk.

Next day we wandered down the valley to Ma'fud, being greeted there in the usual tribal way by a salute of rifle fire. But the fashion in salutes in this area between the Hadhramaut and the western Protectorate is very alarming. Instead of firing straight up in the air they fire just above your head and you are supposed to look as if you liked it. As I am rather taller than the usual run of South Arabians I don't like it at all.

After lunch we parted with the Sheikh who had brought us from Yeb'eth, and we started off with the Muqaddam's brother on three good camels for Shabwa, intending to night there. 'Irma was full of ancient traces, rough buildings, and irrigation works, but the most interesting of all was the 'aqaba by which we left it. Much of the ancient masonry the Sabæans had built remained, and, as our guide pointed out, it was wide enough for wheeled vehicles. It was in fact about 16 feet wide, far wider than any built 'aqaba I have seen elsewhere. He, too, repeated the story of the cars, but said that though he did not believe the ancients had them it seemed clear they had used wheeled vehicles, at any rate to bring the great cut stones to Shabwa. It was again dusk as we came down this 'aqaba, and I only had time to copy the first of three long well-cut inscriptions we saw.

In the morning we rode the remaining few miles to Shabwa, an island in the desert, noting the extensive signs of ancient cultivation through which we passed, showing how in its prime Shabwa must have presented a fair sight of white buildings on a hill set among green fields.

We entered through the traces of an ancient gateway, and I told our guide of Pliny's story of the gate always left open for the incense, with a secretary of the King in attendance.

"And there no doubt is where he sat," said he, pointing to an alcove corresponding to those at the gates of any Hadhrami town to-day, where the clerk sits at the receipt of customs.

I found the ruins of Shabwa depressing in their uncared for desolation. We found the figure of a winged female holding a cornucopia, and after a considerable consumption of camel's milk we looked at the salt mines, and passed through another gate into the desert. These beduins have a fine custom as regard the camels' milk. Any stranger may go up and start milking a camel, and if he

once begins the owner or anyone else will help him to get all he wants. We were glad enough of this custom, for we had before us a twenty-hour ride over desert with not a drop of water or particle of shade. It was pleasant enough at night, but the endless climbing up and slithering down yellow dunes the height of houses on the 1st May decided me that I had had enough of the Rub' al Khali when we got to Al 'Abr the following evening, having milked every camel we could find on the way.

I find it interesting to compare the country of old with the country to-day, and to ask if the civilization then was any better than now. Some people looking at the ruins and the miserable poverty and precarious life of the beduins living in and around them to-day are inclined to think it was, and one is tempted sometimes to agree because the medium in which the builders of those days worked was stone and more durable than the mud of to-day. And they certainly shaped their stones and carved their inscriptions in a way the Hadhramaut masons of to-day don't do. But this apart, what are the two pictures? The right comparison is, I think, not between the Himyar-Saba country of old and its present condition, but between the Hadhramaut then and now.

Of old there was the coastal kingdom of Himyar based on Maipha metropolis or Sessania and Cana, and the interior kingdom of Hadhramaut based on Sabbathatha or Sabota. The kings of these places took a heavy rake-off on goods passing through, there were constant wars and shifting of power. There was an educated class who had a monopoly of learning, and there were beduins, the tribes of Kinda, who produced such a poet as Imru'l Qeis. The people of the towns seem to have produced nothing of any artistic value. Their agriculture was done with irrigation and bunds and, to get a picture of village life, you should read Miss Caton Thompson's monograph. Hureidha, then Madhab, was a country village on the eastern outskirts of Saba. Did the country live on agriculture? No, it lived on the incense trade. It was eventually the people in Egypt, Greece, and Rome who paid for the temples of Sabota.

To-day, to the east of the old kingdoms, there is the coastal kingdom of the Qu'aitis, based on Mukalla, and the interior one of the Kathiris based on Seiyun. The rulers of these places and any others who can, take duties on goods passing through. There is an educated class principally of saiuids, and there are beduin tribes, the descendants of the beduin tribes of old like the Sei'ar who

derive from Kinda, or the descendants of the Himyarites and Sabæans who have become beduins. Ruling dynasties of to-day were beduin yesterday and vice versa. Agriculture is carried out just as it was, but the country can no more live on it now than it did then. Before the war it was Java and Singapore which paid for the palaces of Seiyun and Tarim.

When the Romans took the incense by sea the first Hadhramaut perished. The new Hadhramaut learnt to emigrate and get money abroad. Although they build in mud they build so extraordinarily well that they cannot be considered inferior to the Hadrami craftsmen of old. The fall of Singapore and Java has shown that the Hadhramaut of to-day would perish just as the one of old did if the country could not get money from abroad.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### Near East

EASTERN PILGRIMAGE. By F. D. BACON. Small 8vo, 102 pp.  
Lutterworth Press. 5s.

This small book gives an excellent popular account of the Government, organization, and tenets of the various churches with which it deals. The author hardly does justice to the part an inchoate national spirit played in bringing about separation between Christians, in the course of the Christological disputes of the sixth and other centuries. Once we grasp that these abstract and unimportant "heresies" correspond to differences of nationality, that the Copt or Syrian or Armenian concerned was resenting what he considered Greek or imperial dictation, and was brandishing any doctrinal catchword that the Greek happened to dislike as the standard of his own independent nationality, there is some chance that the "squabbles over mere technical terms" may become intelligible to us.

There are a few slips and misprints. We can hardly say—though many historians do say it—that the Council of Chalcedon in 451 "officially recognized" the five greater Patriarchates. The word does not occur in any of the acts of any General Council! It is true that by 451 the sees of Alexandria, Antioch and Rome were already in the habit of appointing the Bishops in undefined "circles" round those "Metropolises"; this was already an established custom by the days of Nicæa, and Chalcedon recognized the fact that by 451 Constantinople was doing the same in certain Anatolian provinces, so that what were afterwards called patriarchates were existing in the Roman empire: the Council extended the right to Jerusalem. The title seems to have been first used in what was afterwards called the "Nestorian" "Church of the East", in the empire that was then Sassanid Persia. The Patriarch or Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was the first to adopt the title, at a local council meeting in 424. At this date as the author points out the Church forbade—for good political reasons—appeals outside its own borders. Can "liturgy" mean "The People's work"? Liddell and Scott define it as originally a work undertaken in the time of Demosthenes voluntarily for the benefit



of the people. Then by derivation, in the time of Aristotle, it signified a rite in honour of some divinity and finally the Eucharistic rite. We agree, however, that the various Christian "Liturgies" are of various families, different enough to show that each important church could form its own, though also like enough to show that they are embodiments of a common tradition. Naturally each ancient church thought and said that its Liturgy was "apostolic", but an attempt to frame "The Apostolic Liturgy" out of the elements common to all these various rites is a conjecture only.

The Monastery of Mt. Sinai is not "built high on a jutting peak".

The Assyrians (p. 82) do not hold that they are descended from the lost ten tribes; nor do they only use to-day the ancient "estrangelo" script in writing their native Syriac. Both they and their "Jacobite" neighbours use that script at times, but more as we use "black-letter" than as an ordinary script. Each of the two uses, for ordinary purposes, its own version of the old Syriac alphabet, and of course each holds that his own is the superior and original form.

On p. 13, l. 3, for "Ephod" should be read "Ephor", the Greek word for superintendent.

B. 799.

W. A. WIGRAM.

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THE LOVES AND WARS OF BAAL AND ANAT, AND OTHER POEMS FROM UGARIT. By CYRUS H. GORDON. Princeton Oriental Texts, Vol. IX,  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xviii + 48. Princeton University Press, 1943.

The author of an Ugaritic *Grammar* published by the Papal Institute at Rome, unfortunately not obtainable in this country, presents translations of those passages in the texts from Ras Shamra published by M. Virolleaud which he considers clear. Interspersed summaries of the stories cover the passages, often pretty long, which are omitted; they give the impression, rather odd in a series like this, of being intended for an uninstructed public, and are not always reliable. Thus it is said of the double line before II AB V 104—Gordon uses a new system of numbering the tablets; every variation is a fresh nuisance—on p. 14: "At this point the scribe took a recess and before continuing notes that he is returning to the story." The explanation of such double lines is, however, quite certain from Babylonian practice. The

scribe, copying from a series of tablets of a size different from his own, marks the end of an original tablet with a double line ; line 104 is a colophon introducing the next tablet. On p. 28 the impression is given that the vision of El ceases at *Keret II*, 79 ; this is almost certainly erroneous.

In general, the translations may be fairly recommended to the curious as sound ; but more points are doubtful than the italics indicate. In one or two places incautious wording leads to physical impossibilities. Thus, p. 17, "Do not put a casement in the midst of the palace," or p. 35, *Dn'il* "picks himself up and sits in the entrance of the gate under the threshing floors that are in the barn". This *'adrm* may perhaps be compared with the *adru* in an Assyrian palace, to which a god goes in a procession, Waterman, *Royal Correspondence*, No. 65. The translation of *mhr* on p. 37 by "Handyman" is certainly wrong ; the word occurs in Egyptian as a loan-word, see A. H. Gardiner, *Anastasi I*, p. 20, n. 7, and is the title of an important official.

If it is right to say "Asherah", why is it necessary to write "K-th-r", when Philon Berytius gives, in the correct MSS., *Χουρώρ* ? The disputed sign may be philologically equivalent to Arabic *tha* in many words, including this, cf. the idol *كثري*, but it must unquestionably have been pronounced as a sibilant in the word for "six", and it seems improbable that it had any other value in speech than *sin*.

B. 800.

SIDNEY SMITH.

### Middle East

MUKHTĀRĀT MIN AL-ĀDAB AL-ʿARABĪ. An Arabic Chrestomathy for Advanced Students.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. 370. Published by the American Council of Learned Societies. Washington, D.C., 1944.

Books in Arabic tend to be so big that variety of reading matter can only be got at considerable expense. Chrestomathies, therefore, are welcome. This volume is selected from standard books and anthologies and covers a wide range of subjects. The only principle of arrangement is that the easier passages come at the beginning of the book ; the earlier pages are all vowelised. Some of the selections are beneath the dignity of advanced students. At the end are pages in Spanish type and others in Hebrew and Syriac

characters. The pages have been reproduced by photography from printed or lithographed texts and the variety of scripts makes an ugly book. Some pages are a little smudged and a few dots have dropped out, but there is nothing which should be too great a strain on the advanced student.

*B. 801*

A. S. TRITTON.

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RECORD AND DESCRIPTION OF THE OLD SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM SOUTHERN ARABIA. By Dr. KHALIL YAHYA NAMI, of the Fuad I University, Cairo. Cairo, 1943.

In 1936 a mission, organized by the Fuad I University in Cairo, spent several months in the Yaman and Hadhramaut under the leadership of Dr. S. A. Huzayyin. Its results are being published as and when possible, and this book is a welcome contribution to the study of South Arabian inscriptions. Its author, Dr. Nami, accompanied the mission as epigraphist and linguistic expert, and has dealt very fully with the ninety-one inscriptions which rewarded its labours. No fewer than seventy-nine of them appear to be new, while all but two came from the Yaman. Some fifty-seven of these here recorded are at Na'it, and about sixteen in much the same neighbourhood (at 'Amran, Raida, etc.). A number of them are Thamudic; two are from Hadhramaut, including one in the Minean dialect (reading from left to right); the rest are Sabæan.

Many of these inscriptions are trivial personal records, though some present points of linguistic or epigraphic interest. Two of the new inscriptions refer to the NSRM YH'MN and his brother (or son) SDQ YHB of bani Hamdan already known to us from C.I.H. 287 (Glaser, 265, and also recorded afresh in No. 58 of the mission); but we still remain without specific epigraphic authority for assuming, as Dr. Hommel does, that NSRM YH'MN (or his brother/son) occupied the throne of Saba c. 200 to 180 B.C. All we seem to know is that these two persons were the chief princes of the Hashid branch of bani Hamdan, which soon after their time successfully, though perhaps only temporarily, challenged the hegemony of the Bakil branch, that had hitherto provided the kings of Saba. The only king of the latter branch invoked in these inscriptions is FR'M YNHB, king of Saba c. 140 to 120 B.C., to whom inscription No. 59 is dedicated. His Hashid contemporary and rival, 'LHN NHFN son of YRM 'WTR, is named in inscrip-

tions 19 and 26. In the former his name was coupled apparently with both his sons, though only one of the names, Sh'RM 'WTR, has survived. The latter also appears in inscriptions 43 and 48, and is specifically mentioned as king in the second of these (c. 125 to 105 B.C.).

Another inscription from Na'it (No. 23) belongs to a considerably later date as the king invoked is DhMR'LY BYN (c. A.D. 20 to 40) who appears to have been the father of the Charibael (KRB'L WTR YHN'M) mentioned by the author of the *Periplus*. Inscription No. 24 also seems to refer to the same king, while No. 70 (copied in the Museum at San'a) is still later, referring to RBShMSM NMRN who can scarcely have reigned earlier than about A.D. 200 and is known to us from other inscriptions.

The period covered by these inscriptions is thus seen to have been about four centuries from about 200 B.C. onwards, though unfortunately we do not get from them any information about that period which was not already known to us. The wars of 'LHN NHFN against Hadhramaut and Qataban are mentioned in three fragments (Nos. 71, 72, and 73) copied by Dr. Nami in the San'a Museum, but they are too mutilated to be of much value. It has been suggested by Dr. Carl Rathjens that these towns on the northern edge of the San'a basin were wrecked by volcanic eruptions in the second or third century A.D.

In the Thamudic group of graffiti illustrated on p. 110 of Dr. Nami's volume, the fourth word, read by him as WSLB, would rather seem to be WSMM, while the word below it may be RSM rather than SN-. Also his SYTM should probably be read as BSYTM.

B. 802.

H. ST. J. B. PHILBY.

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SA'ADYAH GAON ON THE INFLUENCE OF MUSIC. By H. G. FARMER.  
pp. xi + 109. London, Probsthain, 1943. 21s.

This valuable monograph is devoted to a difficult passage in Sa'adyah's *Kitāb al-amānāt wal-i'tikādāt*, written in Bagdad in A.D. 933. Farmer shows Sa'adyah's debt to the Muslim philosopher al-Kindi who again depended on ninth century Arabic translations from the Greek. The Arabic text, written by Sa'adyah in *Arabic* letters, has survived in two MSS. only (Oxford and Leningrad), both written in *Hebrew* letters. The wide difference between the

two texts shows how the original had been altered. Such an alteration has taken place in the passage in question. Farmer shows that where Sa'adyah himself—in accordance with al-Kindī—wrote of *rhythms* and *beats*, the copyists substituted *melodies* and *notes*, making nonsense of the digest from al-Kindī. The best-known Hebrew translation of Sa'adyah's book which was finished by the elder Ibn Tibbon in A.D. 1186, presupposes already the text in its altered form. But older translations, especially that called *Pitron* (paraphrase), were made on the basis of a text which showed still the original readings of Sa'adyah. Dr. Farmer is able to give the correct interpretation of the Rhythmic Modes taken over by Sa'adyah from al-Kindī and to compare them with those of Arabic writers on music.

B. 803.

P. KAHLE.

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LIFE AND WORKS OF IBN ER RŪMĪ. By RHUVON GUEST. pp. 143, 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 6. Luzac and Co., 1944.

The Abbasid poets have been curiously neglected of late by Western scholars; it is thus all the more welcome that so accomplished an Arabist as Mr. Rhuvon Guest should give us the fruits of a careful study of the writings of one of the most famous of them in a monograph packed with information and excellently documented. Ibn al-Rūmī is not a very congenial figure to the romantic taste; he must have been a pretty unpleasant character, judging by the remarkable ease with which he passed from outrageous flattery of a hoped-for patron, to the coarsest abuse of the same person when his hopes were disappointed or the patron lost his influence and wealth. "My gratitude is near at hand, my grudge likewise, both good and evil last with me," boasts this graceless poet; but we must remember the ancient desert tradition and the ruthless times in which he lived, and not be hasty to judge by other standards. Ibn al-Rūmī reveals a period of which we still know all too little, and his poems thus have a historical value all their own. Apart from the tedious ingenuity of panegyric and satire, the poet was capable of excellent descriptive and lyrical verse; and at least one elegy rings true. Mr. Guest has furnished—at cost of what patient labour!—an index of proper names as they occur in the Cairo MS. of the collected poems; the arrangement follows the

Arabic alphabet, which is rather confusing, as all users of Brockelmann have found. The notes contain a good sprinkling of quotations from the poems, set in the clear new Monotype Arabic, but unpointed. A brief review leaves no room for discussion of details; but one may question the spellings *naurauz* and *Nábukht* (despite the MS. support) and *Qarmathian*. There are some lapses in the proof-reading.

B. 804.

A. J. ARBERRY.

A STUDY OF MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS. By V. S. BENDREY.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. 197. Bombay: Karnatak Publishing House, 1944. Rs. 7.

The kernel of this book is a summary of all the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* arranged in chronological order with full indices attached. To this is prefixed an introduction on the study of inscriptions. In it a beginner will find well-nigh all he wants to know about methods of study, how to utilize the knowledge he has acquired, and how to set it out for the benefit of others. The style of the introduction is all that it ought not to be. The author will not use one word if he can use two, or one syllable if he can use three. He has not mastered the use of the English articles and prepositions and makes adjectives which no native of England would dream of using. The book will be useful in India, but we hope that those who read it will also learn from it how not to write English.

B. 805.

A. S. TRITTON.

AHMAD B. AT-TAYYIB AS-SARAHSI. By F. ROSENTHAL. (American Oriental Series, v, 26.)  $10 \times 7$ , pp. 135, map 1. New Haven, 1943.

In A.H. 271 the heir to the caliphate led an army from Baghdad to Palestine to meet the ruler of Egypt who was regarded as a rebel though he was in fact independent. One man summed up the campaign as, "Child met child; that is how children go to war." The prince was accompanied by the man who had been his tutor, a typical scholar of the age who had taken all knowledge as his province and written about everything except grammar, though his knowledge of that subject has been praised. He had been a pupil of al-Kindi, the philosopher of the Arabs; so he is more interesting for any light he throws on his master than for himself.



His writings are lost except for extracts preserved in the works of later scholars. He wrote on the campaign of 271/2, part of which is preserved by Yāqūt, on the Ṣābiāns, from which big extracts are given in the *Fihrist* and elsewhere. In a more frivolous vein are stories preserved in the *kitāb al-Aghānī*; some have little point, perhaps it is wiser to say that the point has been blunted by time and translation. The list of works by as-Saraḥsī is formidable though most were probably pamphlets. One cannot help wondering if it was worth while publishing the list. The writings are lost, the subjects are those dealt with by every scholar of the time, so the list describes the activity of al-Fārābī or Ibn Sīnā or anybody else. Great industry has gone to the making of this book; the medical books called for reference to the Latin translations of the Middle Ages. The phrase, "his knowledge was wider than his intelligence," looks innocent if unkind, but a long note shows that it implies a heresy hunt. A careful piece of work.

B. 806.

A. S. TRITTON.

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GALEN ON MEDICAL EXPERIENCE. By R. WALZER. 10 × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. xii + 164. London, 1944.

In the conclusion of his book on Arab Medicine Professor Browne asks whether the study of this branch of history can be justified. His question cannot yet be answered because there is not enough data upon which to form a judgment. Mr. Walzer's publication provides a little more evidence because though Galen is the author the presentation is Arab.

The work will appeal to several differing interests. First there is the student of Greek philosophy. The Empiricist School up till now is represented by a single work, also by Galen. The student of the History of Medicine now has before him another complete text from the Bayt-ul-Ḥikmat or College of Translators, founded by al-Mamūn. Thanks to the Greek fragments which were previously known it is possible to estimate the skill of those early translators. What is now wanting is to discover the Syriac version upon which Ḥubaysh worked. For there can be very little doubt that Galen wrote in Greek, that Ḥunayn translated this into Syriac, that Ḥubaysh translated this version into Arabic (this being the text which is here presented), and that finally this version is translated into English.

How does the English translation compare with the Syriac and the Arabic versions? I think that Ḥubaysh had an advantage over Mr. Walzer. He was a practising doctor. I find that in several places Mr. Walzer has not rendered the technical Arabic word by the corresponding technical medical English word. That must be expected from a non-medical translator. Thus, رمد (pp. 11-93) is not "cataract" but "ophthalmia". Again, عصب (pp. 66-139) is not "sinews" (I suppose he means "tendons"), although sometimes it does bear that meaning. Here it means "nerves". For the Greeks and Arabs taught that there were three hollow tubes in the body for the conveyance of Spirit (as Galen here hints). These were the arteries, the veins, and the nerves. They never said that tendons were hollow. Again, "to press the place of the inner part of the pubes" (p. 140) is anatomical nonsense. The Arabic text states that the pressure was applied to "the region of the anus", that is, the perinaeum (p. 67).

I find one or two other mistranslations, possible translations, indeed, but surely not what Galen meant. Thus, امراض التابعة (pp. 53-128) probably means "complications", not "therapeutic symptoms". (What as a matter of fact are "Therapeutic symptoms"?) Again, امراض الحار means the whole genus of hot diseases, not "feverish disease" (pp. 64-137), of which fever is but one species.

A much less important point is the transliteration. It is much to be desired that all translators should use the system advocated by the Royal Asiatic Society. But at least they should stick to one. On the same page I find the Arab translator's name spelt Ḥubaish and Ḥubaiš, p. vii. But that is clearly a slip.

The paper is excellent: the learning involved immense and wide. Mr. Walzer and those who helped him are to be congratulated.

B. 807.

C. ELGOOD.

### Far East

A MAKER OF MODERN CHINA. By ALBERT J. GARNIER.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ , pp. 117, with 4 illustrations. London: The Carey Press.

This book has been produced "as a small memorial to the life and work of a great and humble servant of Jesus Christ on the 100th anniversary of his birth in the hope that it may present a

challenge to our young men and women to use what God has given them for the benefit of mankind and for the glory of God ”.

In his first section the author has briefly sketched the background of the scene in China when Dr. Timothy Richard went there in 1869. This helps considerably to make clear the magnitude of the task and of achievement in Dr. Richard's life work. He then carefully analyses in the second section the part played by this “true missionary” throughout the many changes leading to the Revolution of 1911, and describes the big work Dr. Timothy Richard did in fostering and developing the Christian Literature Society for China, which for nearly twenty-five years he directed.

The third section endeavours to discuss the trends of thought in the new China, criticizing Confucianism, Buddhism, and Communism as well as Christianity. The author concludes by the hope that the Chinese will relate their national as well as their individual life to God, as Timothy Richard asked, “using and enjoying all His gifts both material and spiritual so that the ‘machine’ threatening to kill the soul of the West will not kill the soul of China.”

The author has, unfortunately, tried to pack too much into this small volume of 117 pages so that there is a tendency to feel the swamping of the personality of this great missionary, whilst giving only bare outlines of the history, philosophy, and religion of the country. But enough has been said, no doubt, to stimulate the interest of the young in this immense work for China.

B. 808.

H. M. LINDSAY.

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THE GOLDEN WING—A FAMILY CHRONICLE. By LIN YUEH-HWA, Ph.D. International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 11 × 8½, iv + pp. 175. 1 East 54th Street, New York, 1944. \$2.00.

This war-time publication is a record of Chinese family life in a small market town in the Province of Fukien in recent times. The author, Dr. Lin Yueh-hwa, is an anthropologist, trained at Harvard, who has evidently acquired the analytical mind of the western scientist without losing, as so often happens, his interest in the details of everyday life of his own country.

Customs connected with birth, betrothal, marriage, burial, and mourning; ancestor worship; the rites of New Year and other festivals; litigation; agriculture; banditry; the intricacies of

petty trading; all these and many other matters will be found minutely described.

To the average western reader the narrative may be somewhat involved and therefore tedious, but those interested in Chinese psychology, folklore, and customs will find a valuable mine of accurate information.

Dr. Lin's style is terse and ingenuous, a pleasant contrast to the turgid verbosity of the introduction.

B. 809.

E. B. HOWELL.

WHITE OF MERGEN. By MAURICE COLLIS.  $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. 99. London: Faber and Faber. 8s. 6d.

This historical drama is described as an "authentic enlargement" of *Siamese White*, where the author narrated so well the fascinating life-story of Samuel White, the English "interloper" who entered the service of the King of Siam towards the end of the eighteenth century, became "Shahbander" of Mergui, or Mergen (then part of Siam), incurred the wrath of the East India Company by his encroachments upon its privileges, and finally escaped to England with a fortune, after his Siamese employers had turned against him.

Mr. Maurice Collis points out, however, that the play is not to be taken as merely a dramatic version of *Siamese White*, which was a biography and as such confined itself to facts; the drama essays to furnish more intimate portraits of its characters by making them do and say things prompted by their known character and of which there might be actual record if fuller documents were at our disposal.

Like everything from the pen of Mr. Maurice Collis, the play makes delightful reading, but a lack of dramatic quality in the construction and the dialogue raises a doubt as to whether it would create an equally favourable impression upon the stage.

B. 810.

J. CROSBY.

THAI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By GEORGE BRADLEY MCFARLAND, M.D.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. 1,019. Stanford University Press, California, and Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 53s. 6d.

The claim is made for this book that it contains a greater number of words than any other work of its kind, and it is certainly the

most imposing Siamese-English dictionary which has appeared since the publication, in 1854, of the monumental compilation by Bishop Pallegoix. The late Dr. George B. McFarland was the son of a well-known American missionary at Bangkok, and spent the greater part of his life in Siam, so that he brought to his task the almost unique qualification of being bi-lingual. This volume, the result of fifteen years of labour on his part, may not unfairly be regarded as having replaced Pallegoix as the standard authority.

Dr. McFarland has included a large number of idiomatic phrases, and he has paid particular attention to the English equivalents of the names in Siamese of various trees, plants, birds and animals. The introduction contains useful information on the Siamese tongue, its alphabet, its system of tones and its pronunciation. (Dr. McFarland distinguishes as many as six tones, whereas most authorities are content with designating no more than five.) He has also affixed to each Siamese word an attempted phonetic equivalent, according to a system of his own devising. A phonetic system for the transliteration of Siamese words into European characters was promulgated officially by the Siamese Government in March, 1940, but Dr. McFarland could not be expected to make use of it, since his dictionary was compiled before that date.

This work was first published at Bangkok in 1941, only five months before Siam became involved in the world war. Thereafter communication with Siam ceased, but a few copies had reached the United States, a circumstance which made possible the production there, by the photolithographic process, of the present second edition. Now the Pacific war has come to an end the work should be kept up to date by periodical new editions, or by addenda, for at this moment the Siamese language is in a state of constant flux and change and new words are being coined continually to keep pace with modern requirements.

*B. 811.*

J. CROSBY.

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THE EVOLUTION OF BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE IN JAPAN. By ALEXANDER COBURN LOPER, III. xii + 330 pp. + 66 pl. (211 figures). University Press, Princetown (Oxford University Press), 1942. £3 10s.

This is a most valuable addition to the very meagre collection of books on Buddhist temple architecture. It will be appreciated both by the archæologist and the student of Far Eastern architecture.

for the author has dealt in detail with the evolution of Buddhist temple buildings from their earliest days in China until their introduction to Japan through the Kingdoms of Kokuli, Pekche and Silla, which comprise the present Manchuria and Korea, to the end of the nineteenth century. He has clearly described the planning and construction of ancient temples in China, ruined down to the foundations, employing several existing examples in Japan that appear to have been faithfully copied from Chinese prototypes and have survived through the six main periods of Japanese architectural evolution. He has surveyed the complicated timber construction of temples and pagodas and given an insight into their relation to Japanese domestic architecture.

It was American organizations whose generosity gave the author unique opportunity for thorough research on the spot. Similar organizations in this country have failed on several occasions to give British architects the chance of similar work in the field.

Mr. Loper covered a wide area during his short sojourn in the East. One may marvel that he was able to gather so much information in such a short time, considering the many difficulties that beset investigation in China and Japan.

The bibliography is in itself most illuminating. Out of 210 works consulted only sixteen are in European languages. The author who has spared no trouble in obtaining first-hand information from Asiatic sources, also reminds us of the wealth of classical literature, historical records and valuable works of reference which must remain unavailable to all but Orientalists.

The probable destruction of historic edifices in Japan makes it regrettable that this volume is not richer in illustrations, but the present paper shortage may be to blame. Finally, a word of appreciation is due to the unnamed draughtsman who prepared the masterly isometric perspectives and sections which give such a vivid picture and add to the understanding of the architectural layout and intricate construction of Far Eastern secular buildings.

*B. 812.*

OLIVER BEDFORD.

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SOUTH-EAST FROM SERAMPORE. By E. A. PAYNE. 7½ × 5, pp. 92.  
London: The Carey Press, 1945. 5s.

These are chapters setting forth the story of Baptist missionaries in Amboyna, Java, and Sumatra at the beginning of the last



century. It is a deserved tribute to pioneers and a valuable addition to the history of the Malayan region at the time of Raffles, who found these missionaries educated gentlemen and encouraged them. Educated, yes. Trowt, for example, the son of a shoemaker, sailed from Portsmouth in 1814 with a library for the voyage that included Marsden's *History of Sumatra*, Watson's *Apology for the Bible*, the Greek Testament, the Hebrew Bible and an account of the seventeenth-century persecution of the Waldensians. Such was the equipment for men eager not only to preach the simple Word to simple Muslims who had a simpler creed than theirs, but hoping to convince more erudite Muslims, absorbed had they known it in a mysticism compact of ideas from the Sufi, the Yogi and the Neo-Platonist, ideas then outside the range of European reading and European sympathy. Some of the biographies open vistas that excite curiosity. What was the end of Nathaniel Ward who walked into the Batak country "without shoes and stockings, in a Malay dress and a straw hat", and who having lost money over agricultural speculations still refused to leave Sumatra, until after more than thirty years his name disappeared from the annual report of the Baptist Society.

The author is vague as to the race of converts. Many Bataks are Christians. But surely Javanese Muslims never change their faith. The names given for individual converts are neither Malay nor Javanese, and in thirty-four years I never heard of a Muslim in Malaya abjuring Islam. Eurasians are Christians, and so are Java's immigrants from Amboyna and Minahassa.

Many of these pioneers essayed translating the Gospels into Malay and Javanese. Missionary translators are severely handicapped by that insistence on the literal rendering of an inspired book. "Good Shepherd," for example, has an honourable connotation in English, but the only literal equivalent in Malay is "competent herd" with such an implication of mean employment that to the Malay Muslim the phrase is profane nonsense.

Surely the day is past for Malaya to be termed Malay? And even if he does not read Dutch, the author could have discovered from Mr. Furnivall's *Netherlands India* that the Padris (p. 49) were fanatical Sumatran Muslims.

## KAMBUJA-DEŚA OR AN ANCIENT HINDU COLONY IN CAMBODIA.

By R. C. MAJUMDAR.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. iv + 165. University of Madras, 1944. Rs. 4.

In these valuable lectures Dr. Majumdar has collected all the epigraphical matter on a region that is practically the preserve of a band of French pioneers headed by M. Coedès and a band of Indian scholars that includes the present author and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. French and Indian research has tended to stress epigraphical and archæological studies. But inscriptions and temples are liable to give a somewhat exaggerated idea of Indian influence, being generally the work of foreign rulers and their Hindu *entourage*, of which the Brahmins at Bangkok and Pnom-penh are "survivals in culture". A proper perspective calls for the correlation of the studies indicated with investigation into the life and customs of the modern descendants of the builders of the Angkors and Bayon, in quest of the pre-Hindu element in their civilization.

Dr. Majumdar points out that, as in Java, so in Indochina Indian colonies perished in the thirteenth century when India herself succumbed before the Moguls. He also makes the doubtful claim that "Indian colonizations in the Far East was not an imperialism *in any form*, political or economic". Though this may be verbally true, scholars, at any rate, have to take into account the implication of words like imperialism and democracy, and it is safer to stick to "things that we can touch and see". Hindu colonists put the Cambodian into nether garments, built temple and *āśrama*, gave some of the people an alphabet and a literature, introduced a rich, if alien, folk-lore, inspired or at the very least stimulated a great art. On the other hand Hinduism, cut off from the bulk of the population by caste, proved so little suited to export that (outside Bali) it was everywhere supplanted by Buddhism or Islam. Hindu colonists brought foreign kings and dynastic and commercial wars, and if Indochina had slavery already, yet the immense building programme of its new rulers and priests must have fostered it beyond measure. The Hindu failed, too, as Europe has failed, to convert the Cambodian, the Thai, and the Malay into a trader able to compete with the Indian and the Chinese. "Even the kings, the high officials, and the nobility" are found by Dr. Majumdar to have been inspired by high ideals of piety, and renunciation of this world, the latter hardly a qualification for administrators. As in modern Siam, the people were taxed for the benefit

of the capital, the residence of a king who was an incarnate god; and dictators have lately provided a signal example of the danger of mortal pretensions to divine attributes. The extravagant beauty of Cambodian sculpture and architecture covers a multitude of administrative failings in the eyes of posterity. It is a strange phenomenon that almost simultaneously the same extravagant beauty swept across Europe as well as Asia for a few centuries, and then passed away.

B. 814.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

### India

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA. By W. H. MORELAND and ATUL CHANDRA CHATTERJEE. 2nd Edition.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . pp. 548 + xiv. Longman's. 21s.

This work of two men eminently qualified by their services and knowledge had already established itself as the most comprehensive, trustworthy and impartial of the one-volume histories of India. Here Sir Atul Chatterjee, left unaided by his colleague's death, has corrected the few trifling errors in the first edition, and has added six chapters giving an admirably succinct account of a period, 1919 to 1943, which saw great political development. The writer makes no attempt to pass final judgment on events whose story is not completed, or which are still under examination. Still less does he profess to forecast the future. He gives, however, a very clear description of what has led to the present situation, and indicates in particular the vast strides made towards the recognition of India's nationhood by the world. No better basis could be found for the study of Indian history, whether ancient or modern.

B. 815.

P. R. CADELL.

WOVEN CADENCES OF EARLY BUDDHISTS (SUTTA-NIPATA). By E. M. HARE.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 229. Printed by Harrison's and Crosfield, of Colombo, Ceylon.

The Sutta-Nipata is the fifth division of the fifth Nikaya, the Khuddaka-Nikaya, of the Sutta Pitaka, or Basket of Discourses, in the Pali Canon of the Southern School of Buddhism. The Khuddaka-Nikaya contains a number of famous Scriptures, of very different content, age, and worth, some of the most famous divisions or chapters being the Dhammapada, the Udana, the Itivuttaka,

the famous "Psalms of the Brethren", Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis, and the Jataka-mala or Birth Stories. There seems, however, a general consensus of opinion that the Sutta-nipata, while itself containing passages of unequal age, is perhaps the oldest book in the Canon, and Fausböll, after declaring that the Mahavagga at any rate is very old, somewhat cynically adds that "there can be no doubt that it contains some remnants of primitive Buddhism". In any event it is, as Mr. E. M. Hare points out, "an old and important anthology of early Buddhism," and any new translation is of importance to students of the Dhamma.

In 1874 Sir Muttu Coomara Swamy translated the first thirty of its seventy Suttas into English (published by Trübner and Co.), but the first complete translation seems to be that of Fausböll in the Sacred Books of the East, Volume 10. Then, in 1932, Lord Chalmers produced the first mixed metrical and prose translation as Volume 37 in the Harvard Oriental Series, in an attempt to reproduce something of the original format and style. Now Mr. Hare has prepared a new translation, also in the original mixture of prose and verse, and the question is once more raised as to the propriety of such an attempt. Is any verse translatable as verse, as between two utterly dissimilar languages? The word verse must be used advisedly, for it is not suggested that the Pali original could fairly be described as poetry. And whatever the metre adopted, in the absence of that elusive factor which turns verse into poetry is there any great point in turning the Pali lines into such an English verse that it reads as prose cut up into lengths, and is not much better? Is not the musical yet powerful prose that produced our greatest literature, including the Bible, better than this rather weak and uninspiring verse? I speak, of course, of the form of the translation, for the meaning is always clear.

Compare Book 1.12.4 in Fausböll's prose :—

"He who has penetrated all the resting places of the mind, and does not wish for any of them, such a Muni indeed, free from covetousness and free from greediness, strives no longer, for he has reached the other shore."

And Lord Chalmers' verse :—

"Alive to errors all,  
a prey to none, the Sage  
harbours no want, wants naught;  
—across the Flood is he."

As between Lord Chalmers' and Mr. Hare's verse there is a difference which need not imply that one is better than the other. Take, for example, the "Greatest Blessing" Sutta.

Lord Chalmers begins :—

" 'Tis shunning fools, consorting with the wise,  
and heartfelt worship of the worshipful ;  
'tis life in scenes befitting spent, a past  
of garnered goodness, aspiration high . . . "

Compare Mr. Hare's shorter metre and crisper idiom :—

" Serving the wise, not serving fools,  
The worship of the worshipful,  
This is the greatest luck.  
In a fair land to dwell, good wrought  
In past, to have high aims for self . . . "

As poetry, I confess to preferring Mr. F. L. Woodward's version of such fragments as he translated for his *Some Sayings of the Buddha*, and if it be argued that the content of the Sutta is more important than its form I can only to a limited extent agree. Will any Western Buddhist ever be inspired by the prose or verse in which the Pali Canon now appears in English, as his forbears were by the English version of the Bible ? The very nobility and music of the form in which the Message appears helps to convey its meaning, and the West has yet to find a translator worthy of the Dhamma which so many Westerners are studying and which all so desperately need.

B. 816.

CHRISTMAS HUMPHREYS.

VASANTA VILĀSA, AN OLD GUJARATI PHAGU. Edited by KANTILAL B. VYAS. 7½ × 5, pp. lxxvi + 86, 4 pl. Bombay : N. M. Tripathi and Co., 1942. Rs. 2·8·0.

This is an edition of an Old Gujarati poem as charming and naïve as the *Pervigilium Veneris*. It is a valuable contribution to the literature on Old Gujarati. The collation of texts, the introduction and notes are all most useful and the plates excellent. A translation, however, is needed and a vocabulary to facilitate linguistic study.

It is, moreover, doubtful whether any detailed linguistic work is desirable until the full text (including the Sanskrit quotations) of the Scroll now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, has been published. This Scroll was prepared, as the colophon shows, in A.D. 1452 for the personal use of Depāla, raja of Śrīmāla (Bhinmal)

under the Gujarat sultan Qutb-ud-din Aḥmad. Fragments already published indicate a close relationship to Mr. Vyas's C MS. (which came into his hands too late for use in collation), and as it is the only dated MS., there can be no definitive text until it has been collated with the other three.

The philological notes do not attain the standard of the rest of the work, and there is much which could and should be omitted. The analysis of metre in the Introduction is incomplete and needs revision. Use should be made of the researches of H. Jacobi, L. Alsdorf, P. O. Guṇe among other scholars.

It would be wrong, however, to allow these considerations to blind one's eyes to the outstanding merits of Professor Vyas's work.

B. 817.

ALFRED MASTER.

KAMSAVAHO OF RĀMA PĀṆIVĀDA. Edited by A. N. UPADHYE.  
7½ × 5, pp. i-1 + 213. Hīndī Grantha Ratnākara Kāvyaḷaya.  
Bombay, 1940.

This poem was written about A.D. 1740 as a Prakrit text-book by a Malayālam pāṇivāda or actor-musician-playwright of classical Sanskrit drama. The author also wrote a Prākṛta-vṛtti or commentary on Vararuci's Prākṛta-sūtram (usually known as the first nine chapters of the Prākṛta-prakāśa) the influence of which can be traced in the poem. Its language may be regarded as Mahārāṣṭrī, "sprinkled here and there with what are called Śaurasenī characteristics" and containing some Māgadhī forms, such as *ahake* (*ahaam*) and *kāḷaṇa* (*kāraṇa*). It is thus a blend of the three chief styles, Mahārāṣṭrī predominating. It is of no primary evidential value for philological purposes, but makes a useful introduction to the older literature. A *chāyā*, probably the work of the author, makes his meaning clear.

The poem contains a large variety of Sanskrit metres and a point of special interest is the use of the Dravidian head-rime, in Malayālam *prāsaṃ*, e.g. *parigaṇhau tā, bhavaṃ, cieaṃ*

*sarisaṇaṃ hi samāmo suhassa.*

Head-rime is normally used as a metrical device, but here it is a mere poetical ornament like the end-rimes, alliterations, and identical rimes, which also occur.

The editor has added to his critical text a scholarly introduction with translation, glossary, and notes. The book is well produced



and is a worthy successor of Professor Upadhye's previous editions of Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhramśa texts.

B. 818.

ALFRED MASTER.

PESHWA BAJIRAO I AND MARATHA EXPANSION. By V. G. DIGHE.  
 $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ , pp. x + 235. Bombay, 1944.

It is usual to regard Balaji Visvanath Bhatt (1714-1720) as the first Peshwa, for, although the office of Peshwa or Mukhya Pradhan dates back to Sivaji's Ashta Pradhan, he was the real founder of that line of rulers who gradually supplanted the rajas of Satara as heads of the Maratha confederacy. His son Balaji Rao I (1720-1740) adopted a policy of territorial aggrandizement with which Mr. Dighe's volume is concerned.

Since the publication of Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas* much valuable material has come to light. Mr. Dighe has made good use of the Marathi sources preserved in the Peshwa's Daftar, and the Persian correspondence contained in the Jaipur Akhbarat. He has also been able to consult the works of Pissurlencar and Braganza which are based on original Portuguese records in the Goa archives. Mr. Dighe's researches are an important contribution to the history of the growth of Maratha power. To him we are indebted for the first detailed account of the Maratha struggle with the Sidis of Janjira. The bibliography is useful and the footnotes are valuable.

B. 819.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

THE EARLY MUSLIM EXPANSION IN SOUTH INDIA. By N. VENKATARAMANYA.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. vi + 216. University of Madras, 1942.

This monograph is a carefully written and detailed account of Khalji and Tughluq penetration into the Deccan and Southern India until the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan and the growth of Hindu power in Vijayanagar. The ground has already been covered by S. K. Aiyangar in his *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*; by Ishwari Prasad in his *History of the Qararunah Turks*; by Agha Mahdi Husain in his *Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*; and by Wolseley Haig in the third volume of the *Cambridge History of India*. The chief value of Mr. Venkataramanyya's book lies in the fact that he has been able to correct the errors of his predecessors as, for example, where he shows that there is no evidence that Malik Kafur's expedition went further south than Madura (*vide* pp. 68-9 and pp. 70-1).

Unfortunately the author fails to provide us with maps or a critical bibliography; and, what is worse, uses in his footnotes abbreviations that will mystify conscientious students.

*B. 820.*

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

### Miscellaneous

THE STORY OF IRISH ORIENTALISM. By M. MANSOOR, Ph.D. Foreword by Professor R. M. GWYNNE, S.F.T.C.D.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 61, ill. 10. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1944. 5s.

Several small and interesting publications have been issued lately, of which the object is to introduce us to the personalities who have helped to bring the literature and culture of this or that Oriental country to the notice of our countrymen. The book under review is of this type, but strikes a new line in collecting together a conspectus of Oriental scholars connected with Ireland, who have dealt with any country of the East. The writer begins with a sketch, necessarily somewhat shadowy, of the influence of the Near East on early Irish travellers and ascetics, but with the seventeenth century he opens up an unexpected vista of Irish names, which have left their mark on Oriental study. We find notices of the Ushers, of E. W. Lane, of Stanley Lane-Poole, of Vincent Smith, Sir George Grierson, and many others, the bulk of whom have been alumni of Trinity College, Dublin. Not a few of the great names introduced to us have been valued founders or supporters of the Royal Asiatic Society, and many of our readers may remember the honour done by the Society in 1928 to one who was perhaps the most remarkable of the series, Sir George Grierson, on whom the Government conferred the peculiar distinction of the Order of Merit. The author is not himself an Irishman, but he has studied at Trinity College with distinction under Professor Gwynne and others, and he has obviously devoted a remarkable amount of labour to bringing together the information he gives us. He has, perhaps rightly, confined himself almost entirely to the sphere of scholarship, but it would have been interesting if we could have had some sidelights on the Oriental leanings of poets like J. C. Mangan, with their "Keramanian Exiles", their "Howling Songs", their "Three Khalendeers", and the like, which haunt the memory with their wonderful association of mystery and exuberance.

*B. 821.*

E. D. MACLAGAN.

## ANNIVERSARY GENERAL MEETING

10th May, 1945

Sir Richard Winstedt, President, in the Chair, regretted that during the year the following Members had died :—

Sir Charles Bell, Mr. W. E. Crum, Mr. E. Edwards, Sir William Peel.

The following resigned :—

Mr. H. E. Faulkner, Rev. Dr. H. H. Gowen.

Thirty new members took up their election :—

Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior, Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Bikaner, the Nawab of Rampur, and the Raja of Aundh ; Sir Andrew Caldecott, G.C.M.G. ; Professor H. G. Rawlinson ; Rt. Rev. J. C. Ryan ; Rev. C. J. Cooper ; Dr. L. Boas ; Captain C. F. A. Schaeffer ; Lt.-Com. G. C. Miles ; Lieut. J. St. M. Ramsden ; Pandit Nand Krishna Pathak ; Sayid Tawfiq Wahaby ; Messrs. J. A. Boyle, J. B. Chaudhuri, Lakshmi Dhar, C. E. Godakumbura, E. Haddad, F. S. Harris, M. C. Hony, C. D. S. Sharma, T. W. Thacker, S. D. Vashti, C. E. Wurtzburg ; Mesdames H. Seligman, K. M. Stahl, and Sophie Young.

### Lectures.

"Indian Influence in the Malay World," by Sir Richard Winstedt.

"The Appreciation of Indian Music," by Mr. Narayana Menon.

"A Seventeenth Century Arakanese Love Poem," by Mr. Maurice Collis.

"James Lewis *alias* Charles Masson," by Dr. R. B. Whitehead.

"From Cana (Husn Ghorab) to Sabbatha (Shabwa) : the Southern Arabia Incense Road," by Mr. Harold Ingrams.

"Sea-Voyages of Discovery by the Ancient Greeks and Romans to India and beyond," by Professor E. H. Warmington.

*Universities Essay Prize*.—No award was made.

*Burton Memorial Medal*.—This medal was presented to Mr. H. Ingrams, C.M.G., O.B.E., by the President.

*Society's Publications, 1944-5*.—Owing to war conditions there were no publications. A monograph on The Magadhas by Dr. B. C. Law was in the press.

*Donations*.—His Grace the Duke of Westminster again remitted £100 of the normal rent of the premises.

## OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

Professor W. P. Yetts was elected an Honorary Vice-President; Professor E. D. Edwards, Honorary Secretary; Dr. L. D. Barnett, Honorary Librarian; and Mr. J. H. Lindsay, Honorary Treasurer. Mr. E. B. Howell was elected a member of Council.

War conditions did not permit of the publication of a list of the Society's Members and of its Rules.

The Society was again greatly indebted to Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., its Honorary Solicitors since 1886, for their generous advice and help.

Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co. were elected Professional Auditors and Sir Josiah Crosby and Mr. E. B. Howell honorary auditors.

After commenting upon the above Report, the President called on the Hon. Treasurer, who made his annual statement:—

“When reviewing our finances for 1943 I was rash enough to promise that the funds of the Society would be in a healthier condition in the present year (1944). Yet our balance at the end of the year was only £41 12s. 3d. while for the three previous years it had been over £200. The story of the British Academy annual grant from the year 1942 provides the explanation. In 1942 we received £400 grants for 1942 and 1943. In 1943 came £200, the grant for 1944, and in 1944 nothing at all, as the British Academy thought, with some justification, that we should not receive the grant for 1945 till that year. We may be confident that this welcome sum, for whose help in the past we cannot be too grateful, will be found in next year's accounts.

“In spite of the size of our balance, I still maintain that our position is healthier than before, because after a decline of ten years our annual subscriptions and our receipts from the sale of the Society's *Journal* both show a substantial increase, and that is a good indication of better health. If we can continue to enlarge our membership as in the past year and to find a still better market for our *Journal*, the position will steadily improve. Our rooms are fully let, and we would seem to have turned our financial corner.

“This has been done, however, only by the most rigid economy in all directions, reducing the *Journal* to two numbers a year and cutting out all library expenditure. There are many things on which we ought to be spending more, but our financial position,

though not so perilous as two years ago, is still far from safe. Items for further expenditure, when money may be available, must be chosen with the greatest care."

Sir Patrick Cadell, in moving the adoption of the Report and the Statement of Accounts, drew attention to the successful administration of the Society during a difficult period, and with a narrow margin of resources. This was due to the unremitting personal attention of the President and the devoted work of Mrs. Davis. The large number of new members, especially from India, and their high quality indicated that the reputation of the Society was being fully maintained. This was a matter of great importance when the better organization of the cultural relations between Great Britain and the East was receiving much attention.

Sir Josiah Crosby, in seconding the proposal, said it was of happy augury that the annual meeting should be taking place almost simultaneously with the declaration of Victory Day in Europe. But an Oriental society could not forget that it still remained for the United Nations to defeat Japan. Only when that victory had been achieved, would the Society be able to resume in full measure its former activities. Meanwhile the Society's officers, particularly the President and Mrs. Davis, were to be congratulated on the success of their tireless efforts.

The Report was unanimously adopted.

The President said that now the war had passed, it was frightening to cross Berkeley Square and realize how few yards had stood between the Society and extinction. The Society was unique among private Oriental institutions in owning a large library; and on its shelves MSS. and books had had to remain which, like the Secretary, Mrs. Davis, would be quite irreplaceable. Had the library gone, the hushed atmosphere would have gone, and the Society would have wanted a new motto: *stat numinis umbra*. But the banyan-tree had weathered the blitz—apart from the temporary loss of a few leaves from its journal—and was encouraged to hope for fresh alimient from the sedulous attention of Government committees.

The adventitious limelight of war had been upon the Society. British Orientalists had figured in a patriotic series of books along with British Circuses and the British Music-hall. And the Society's fame had been spread before India in a Hindustani broadcast.

Oriental scholarship, though never likely to be popular, could be of practical use. Sir Louis Dane had induced an Amir of

# THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

## RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1943 . . . . .				223	8	7
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Fellows . . . . .	296	2	0			
Non-Resident Members . . . . .	321	18	0			
Student and Miscellaneous . . . . .	13	14	2			
Fellow Compounders . . . . .	50	8	0			
Non-Resident Compounders . . . . .	57	0	0			
				739	2	2
GRANTS—						
Government of Burma . . . . .	15	15	0			
Government of F.M.S. . . . .	20	0	0			
Government of Hong Kong . . . . .	5	0	0			
Government of India . . . . .	283	10	0			
Government of Straits Settlements . . . . .	10	0	0			
				334	5	0
RENTS RECEIVED . . . . .				482	10	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions . . . . .	341	8	0			
Additional Copies Sold . . . . .	60	13	6			
Pamphlets sold . . . . .		11	10			
				402	13	4
DIVIDENDS . . . . .				73	17	1
SALE OF CATALOGUE . . . . .				13	4	7
SALE OF CENTENARY VOLUME . . . . .					5	8
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS, 1943 . . . . .				27	13	4
LANDLORD'S PROPORTION OF WAR DAMAGE CONTRI- BUTION, 1943 AND 1944 . . . . .				95	8	0
SUNDY RECEIPTS . . . . .				42	5	5

£2,434 13 2

## INVESTMENTS

£1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.  
£777 1s. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960-90.

## NOTE

£1,306 11s. 8d. is outstanding as a liability, to be transferred to a separate compounded subscription account when general funds permit.



# PAYMENTS FOR 1944

## PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<b>HOUSE ACCOUNT—</b>						
Rent and Land Tax . . . . .	451	7	4			
Rates, less those defrayed by Tenants . . . . .	266	19	8			
Gas and Light, less those defrayed by Tenants . . . . .	81	11	2			
Coal and Coke . . . . .	40	0	8			
Telephone . . . . .	12	17	1			
Cleaning . . . . .	4	10	6			
Insurance . . . . .	51	9	0			
Repairs and Renewals . . . . .	30	2	6			
				938	17	11
<b>LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND</b>						
SALARIES AND WAGES . . . . .				30	10	6
PRINTING AND STATIONERY . . . . .				633	12	6
				21	2	7
<b>JOURNAL ACCOUNT—</b>						
Printing . . . . .	518	8	2			
Postage . . . . .	10	0	0			
				528	8	2
<b>LIBRARY EXPENDITURE . . . . .</b>						
				5	0	3
<b>GENERAL POSTAGE . . . . .</b>						
				24	6	2
<b>SUNDRY EXPENSES—</b>						
Teas . . . . .	19	9	6			
Lectures . . . . .	7	2	6			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance . . . . .	8	13	4			
Storage of Books . . . . .	18	15	0			
War Damage Contribution, 1944 . . . . .	53	0	0			
Fire-watching Expenses . . . . .	67	12	0			
Other General Expenditure . . . . .	36	10	8			
				211	3	0
<b>BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1944—</b>						
Cash at Bank in General Account . . . . .	40	15	10			
Cash in Post Office Savings Bank . . . . .		5	7			
Cash in hand . . . . .		10	8			
				41	12	1
				<u>£2,434</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.  
R. S. LE MAY, Auditor for the Society.

30th October, 1945.

# LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND, 1944

[illegible]

SPECIAL FUNDS, 1944

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
BALANCE, 1/1/44	.	.	127 18 2	RENTAL OF TYPE	.	.	1 1 9
SALES	.	.	59 4 8	BINDING 50 Vol. XX	.	.	3 15 0
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT	.	.	6 0	31/12/44 BALANCE CARRIED TO	.	.	182 12 1
				SUMMARY	.	.	
			<u>£187 8 10</u>				<u>£187 8 10</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPH FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/44 . . . . .	141 11 10	BINDING 100 VOL. XIX . . . . .	5 0 0
SALES . . . . .	22 13 2	31/12/44 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS PUBLICATION OF VOL. XXIV . . . . .	50 0 0	SUMMARY . . . . .	209 5 0
	<u>£214 5 0</u>		<u>£214 5 0</u>

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES 31st DEC., 1944

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND . . . . .	182 12 1	CASH AT BANK—	
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONO-		On Current Account . . . . .	331 17 1
GRAPH FUND . . . . .	209 5 0	On Deposit Account . . . . .	60 0 0
			<hr/>
			391 17 1
	<hr/>		
	£391 17 1		<hr/>
			£391 17 6

INVESTMENTS. Nil.

## TRUST FUNDS, 1944

## PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/44 . . . .	145 8 4	BINDING 25 VOL. XIV AND 25	
SALES . . . . .	15 10 7	VOL. XVII . . . . .	3 15 0
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	18 0 0	31/12/44 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
		SUMMARY . . . . .	175 3 11
	<u>£178 18 11</u>		<u>£178 18 11</u>

**GOLD MEDAL FUND**

BALANCE, 1/1/44 . . . . .	78 16 5	TOKEN MEDAL . . . . .	4 17 6
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	9 15 0	31/12/44 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
		SUMMARY . . . . .	83 13 11
	<u>£88 11 5</u>		<u>£88 11 5</u>

## UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/44 . . . . .	184 7 6	31/12/44 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	20 15 4	SUMMARY . . . . .	205 2 10
	<u>£205 2 10</u>		<u>£205 2 10</u>

# DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
BALANCE, 1/1/44 . . . . .	147	11	1	31/12/44 BALANCE CARRIED TO					
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	10	19	7	SUMMARY . . . . .			194	0	0
INCOME TAX REBATE, 1940/41-42/43	35	9	4						
	<u>£194</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>				<u>£194</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

## SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES, 1944

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND . . . . .	175	3	11	31/12/44 CASH AT BANK ON					
GOLD MEDAL FUND . . . . .	83	13	11	CURRENT ACCOUNT . . . . .			658	0	8
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND . . . . .	205	2	10						
DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT . . . . .	194	0	0						
	<u>£658</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>				<u>£658</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>

## TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).  
 £325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).  
 £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).  
 £40 3½% Conversion Stock 1961 ("B" account).  
 Rs. 12,000 3½% Government of India Promissory Note No. 034904 of 1879 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account)

## BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1944

BALANCE, 1/1/44 . . . . .	12	17	4	BALANCE—CASH AT BANK ON					
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	1	9	5	CURRENT ACCOUNT . . . . .			14	6	9
	<u>£14</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>				<u>£14</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>

BURTON FUND INVESTMENT  
 £49 0s. 10d. Local Loans 3% Stock.

## JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1944

BALANCE, 1/1/44 . . . . .	594	4	2	R.A.S. COMMISSION ON 1943 SALES . . . . .	27	13	4		
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	142	1	9	BINDING 25 VOLS. II AND XII-XVII . . . . .	6	5	0		
SALES . . . . .	178	13	3	FEE FOR INCOME TAX REBATE . . . . .					
INCOME TAX REBATE, 1940/41-42/43	197	15	8	CLAIM, 1940/41-42/43 . . . . .	10	10	0		
				POSTAGE . . . . .		5	3		
				BALANCE—CASH AT BANK ON CUR-					
				RENT ACCOUNT . . . . .	1,068	1	3		
	<u>£1,112</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>				<u>£1,112</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>

## FORLONG FUND INVESTMENT

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4% Inscribed Stock 1942-62.  
 £1,015 18s. 3d. South Australian Government 4% Inscribed Stock 1940-60.  
 £1,031 12s. 7d. 3% Savings Bonds 1960-70.  
 £304 5s. 8d. Bank of England Stock.  
 £700 3½% Conversion Loan 1961 ("A" account).  
 £45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".  
 £253 18s. 4d. 3½% War Loan ("A" account).

I have examined the above statements with the books and vouchers and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the Investments and Bank Balance.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.  
 3, Fredericks Place, Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.  
 R. S. LE MAY, Auditor for the Society.

6th November, 1945.

Afghanistan to overlook the ill omen of a blot and sign a treaty by quoting Hafiz on the mole of a Shiraz' lady's cheek. How salutary for our planners to read of Tzu-lu, the disciple of Confucius, who was always afraid of hearing some new precept before he could try out one in hand. How good for our philosophers and scientists and anthropologists to learn from Confucius that "if language is incorrect, then what is said does not accord with what is meant". No wonder the Society devoted space to philology in its *Journal*. That subject might not appeal to all, but the Society also took history, customs, literature, archæology and art to be its province. There was a time when members might have viewed Cleopatra's nose merely as a feature in Roman history, but Dora Gordine's lectures had changed all that.

The President concluded with a reference to the untiring work of Miss Faulding in the library.

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## PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

- Académie Arabe, la Revue de. Vol. XX, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6. 1945.  
*Damascus*, 1945. [130 B]
- Al-Andalus. Vol. IX, Fasc. 2, 1944. *Madrid*. *Exchange*. [125 G]
- Al-Machriq. Revue Arabe. New Series, No. 1, 1944; No. 1, 1945.  
*Beyrouth*. [118 A-C]
- American Academy for Jewish Research. Proceedings, Vol. XIV, 1944.  
*New York City*, 1944. [125 E]
- American Schools of Oriental Research, Annual, 1943-4. Ed. M. Burrows  
and E. A. Speiser. *New Haven*, 1944. [125 E]
- Andersson (J. G.). Researches into the Prehistory of the Chinese  
(Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Bulletin No. 15.) *Stockholm*,  
1943. [111 G]
- Antiquaries' Journal. Vol. XXIV, 1944, Nos. 3, 4. Vol. XXV, 1945,  
Nos. 1, 2. *From the Oxford University Press*. [61 C]
- Appaya Dikshita Nayamanjari. Ed. P. P. S. Sastri. *Srirangam*, 1941  
[59 B]
- Arab Heritage, The. By P. K. Hitti and others. Ed. Nabih Amin Faris.  
*New Jersey*, 1944. *From the Princeton University Press*. [2 O]
- Assam Research Society, Journal of. Vol. X, Nos. 3 and 4. 1943.  
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